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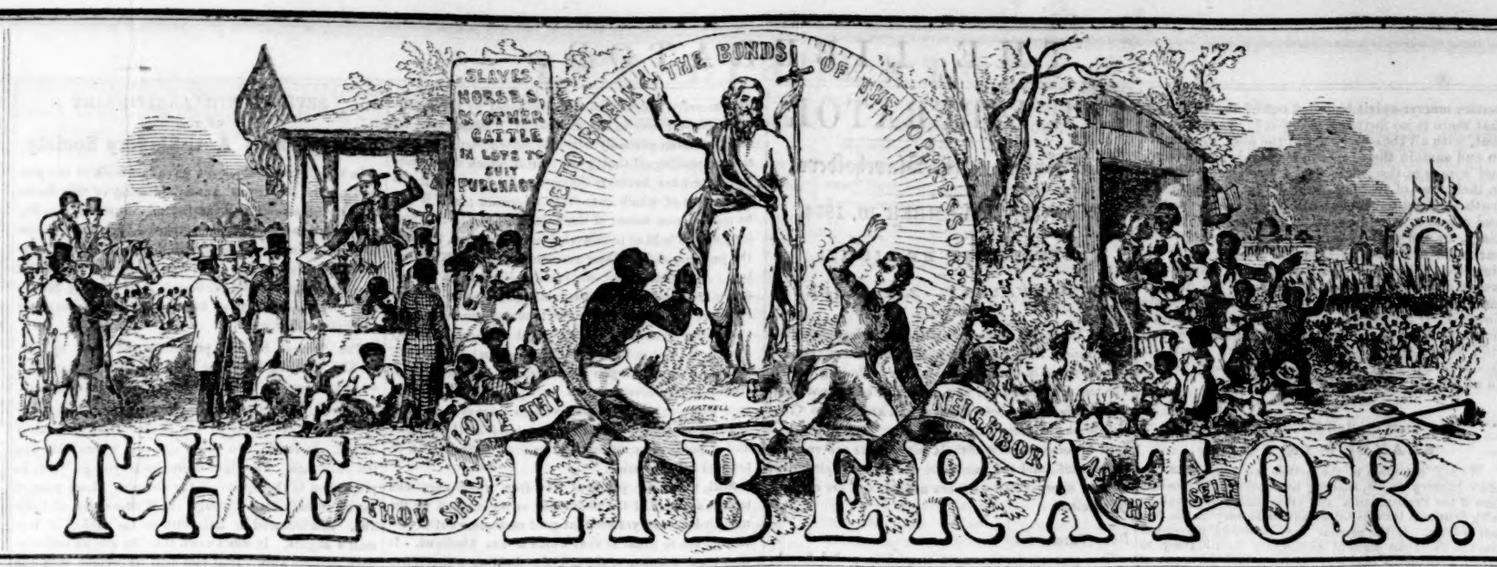

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons ..... in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Richmond Enquirer.

LATTER-DAY PURITANISM.

. . . Abolitionism is the special development of latter-day Puritanism, and it exhibits its intolerant spirit in proscribing and persecuting the slaveholder to the extent, not of its vindictive desire, but of its limited capacity.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at their late session in Hartford, furnished a characteristic illustration of the prevailing spirit of a Puritanic temper of intolerance among the pious people of New England. This association, of which the ostensible design is to propagate the truths of Christianity among heathen nations, has been seriously disturbed of late years by the rebellious spirit of abolitionism among its members. At the late session of the Board, this spirit was excited to open revolt. The agents of the Board among the Choctaw nation, blending the character of Christian missionary with that of abolition emissary, forgot, in instructing the slaves, to inculcate the apostolic injunction of obedience and contentment. On the contrary, they disseminated the insurrectionary doctrines of the new evangel of abolitionism with such assiduity and success, that the Choctaw legislature was driven to enact a law which prohibits the missionaries from teaching the slaves. The official communication of this fact to the Board at its late session provoked a debate, in which the cant, the hypocrisy, and the intolerant temper of latter-day Puritanism, are exhibited in ludicrous extravagance. Dr. Lyman Beecher, and other eminent divines of the 'Uncle Tom' school, were present in such force, that the words of soberness and truth, which a courageous clergyman from this city dared to utter, were stifled by a fanatical opposition. The Rev. Mr. Reid was insulted and overwhelmed, the conservative counsel of Counsellor Walworth was disregarded, the sway of the Parkers and Beechers complete, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions perverted from its legitimate purpose to serve the passions and bigotry of New England Puritanism. The *Independent*, the organ of abolitionism, in its religious development, thus triumphantly reckons up the result of the action of the Board:—

'1. It fully endorses the principles of Mr. Treat's letter of 1848, which every Christian anti-slavery man must acknowledge to be satisfactory on the treatment of slavery by the missionaries of the Board.

2. It refuses to co-operate with a system of education based upon distinctions of color and position, and denying to slaves and their children the knowledge of the Word of God.

3. It proclaims the higher law of Christ in opposition to all anti-Christian legislation, and the duty of preaching the gospel to all persons, and applying it to all phases of human character and conduct.

This action covers the whole ground of duty for the Board in relation to slavery. Henceforth there can arise no question of principle between the Board and the anti-slavery sentiment of the Christian public.'

In other words, the Board resolved to abandon its Christian mission, rather than to surrender the privilege of fomenting insubordination among the slaves of the Choctaw nation. This was done in the spirit of the new evangel of 'Uncle Tom,' not of the gospel of Jesus Christ. From His mission of peace on earth He was not diverted by contact with the worst phase of slavery. The disciples of latter-day Puritanism, in Convention at Hartford, have deliberately resolved to let the Choctaw negroes go to the devil, rather than abate the least jot from their proud spirit of bigotry and intolerance.

Alas for the rarity
Of Christian charity
Under the sun!

From the Alta California.

FEMALE LECTURERS.

Among the arrivals in San Francisco by the last mail steamer was Miss Sarah Pellett, M. D., a graduate of Oberlin College, a regularly educated physician, and an accepted lecturer upon 'Woman's Rights' and kindred subjects. Miss Pellett is, we suppose, of the style of women denominated 'strong-minded,' and is said to possess a decidedly intellectual cast of thought. The recent Woman's Rights gatherings and conventions in the Atlantic cities have brought out a large number of the class spoken of, who are stumping it through the Atlantic towns and cities, detailing the real and imaginary wrongs of woman, and proclaiming her inalienable right to drive omnibusses, command steamboats, preach, make laws and boots, and horse-shoes, and enter upon all the fields of life which have been heretofore monopolized by the sterner sex. These women (for they scorn the term 'ladies') are usually gifted with a greater degree of masculine intellect than the majority of their sex; while from their very appearance it will be at once seen that they are wofully lacking in those gentler qualities which constitute the charm of 'Heaven's last, best gift to man.' The inculcation of their doctrines has only a mischievous tendency, and none for good; making a married man's foes those of his own household, and setting up a claim for supremacy where, by the laws of nature and of God, obedience is due. Sorry should we be to see the time when 'strong-minded' women shall take the place of those gentle beings who now, throughout the civilized world, sit like angels at the domestic hearth, calming the stronger passions of man, and pouring the healing balm of consolation into the wounds which hard rubbing with the world inflict upon those who are called to battle with it.

From the Philadelphia Sunday Times.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

How any men and women, with education and refinement—nay, even without these—can deliberately cast aside all restraint, and betray their vulgarities, and the evidences of their corrupt criminality, to the public gaze, we cannot conceive. What a pitiful and shameful spectacle it is, to witness the apparent fellowship that exists between the white woman's rights advocates at Sansom street Hall, and the big burly negroes and negresses which daily resort thither, and sit in open consort with them! We repeat, that if these spectacles were withheld from the popular eye, and confined to the precincts of the depraved alone, the atrocity might, and, by right, should be endured: for it is, at best, a matter of taste with the guilty participants; but when they are met in open council, and the populace, without reservation of caste or condition, is called upon to come and gaze upon their prostitution, every inculcation of rectitude, and every sentiment of the soul rises in opposition, and cries down the moral insult. We would rather that every right claimed by woman, justly or unjustly, were conceded her, than withheld, if we thought the busy promoter of these sacrilegious gatherings would tempt her to no fresh violations of character, or sacrifices of dignity: but we fear the step with too many has already been taken, and that their career will prove a downward one, until it terminates in an atmosphere reeking with putridity, and amid ruins which mark the overthrow of woman's virtue—the shrine at which man worships, and the object of his idolatry.

SELECTIONS.

A LETTER FROM SENATOR SUMNER.

BOSTON, October 22, 1854.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer:

GENTLEMEN:—You have done me the honor to make certain remarks of mine, in a recent speech to my constituents at Worcester the occasion of two elaborate articles, the first of six columns, and the second, coming forth after a week's rest, of three columns more. In the course of these articles, while quoting to excess from others, you give only detached bits, and in one case a garbled sentence, from the speech on which you undertake to sit in judgment, though all that I said on the point in question is embraced in a single column. As from time to time you have freely published communications from those who vindicate slavery as a *national* institution, I trust that one who holds the opposite opinion—regarding it as in every respect *sectional* and in no respect *national*, as always and everywhere the creature and dependant of the *States*, and never anywhere the creature and dependant of the nation—may ask the simple justice at your hands of inserting in your paper at an early day the precise remarks which have been the subject of your strictures.

And pardon me, gentlemen, if I add a brief response to certain points in your extended incubrations. Of course, I have no desire to follow you in stirring anew the controversy of the Bank; let the dead past bury its dead; but I wish to say a plain word in vindication of that constitutional principle which opened the Bank, although sanctioned by the Supreme Court, to the judgment of Congress and the President, and which, as an essential element of our jurisprudence, is worth more than the Bank itself, even in the imagination of its wildest partisans. That principle, now violently assailed by you, was enunciated by President JACKSON, in a formal message to Congress, as follows:

'Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others.'

In your attack on this principle, you seek, in the first place, to deprive it of all authority as a rule of interpretation. And here you say:

'Flashing forth suddenly and unexpectedly, it dazzled for a moment the vision of superficial observers, but produced no lasting impression, *and still less any thing like conviction upon intelligent and unprejudiced minds. The Senator from Massachusetts*, so far as our memory serves us, *is the only public man that has ever relied upon* this now almost forgotten dogma of our great Warrior President as a rule of conduct for himself.'

And you say this with the very words of John Quincy Adams, quoted by myself, actually before you, declaring, in the last year of his life, that 'the best thing ever uttered by Andrew Jackson was that for which he was so much abused; namely, that in swearing to support the Constitution, he swore to support it as he understood it, and not as other men understood it.'

You say this, gentlemen, in the face of one of your own articles, where you characterize the message of President Jackson not as his message, but as the message of 'the President's advisers,' among whom you will remember was that unsurpassed jurist, Edward Livingston, then Secretary of State; that honorable statesman, Louis McLane, then Secretary of the Treasury; that favorite, at the time, of all parties, Lewis Cass, then Secretary of War; that laborious public servant, Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Navy; and that still living exemplar of careful learning and wisdom, Roger B. Taney, then Attorney General, and now Chief Justice of the United States. Such were the 'advisers,' from whom, according to your own allegation, President Jackson's message proceeded; and yet, to sustain an assault on me, it is convenient to forget the great authority of these names, backed by John Quincy Adams: for I will not suppose that you hoped to avoid all this authority by the equivocal language which you employed.

Having satisfied yourselves by presenting the rule, despoiled of all authority in its support except that of the warrior President, you then proceed, with a looseness of diction which harmonizes with your argument, to assail it on grounds of reason. And here permit me to say, that the prudence which has given to the journal over which you so honorably preside much of its character, would, if not for a moment suspended, make you hesitate to charge any rule, upheld by the names I have mentioned, with the injurious consequences which, in your inflamed vision, seem to flow from this. You represent it as opening the floodgates of confusion and disorder. Here is a great mistake. But let me not occupy time on this point; I will merely refer to the speech which you assault. I do not venture to say that its argument cannot be answered, though I do not think that it can; but I do say confidently, that you have not answered it.

But I stop here to touch one point which is not noticed in the speech. You quote the words of the Constitution that 'the judicial power shall extend to ALL CASES in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made,' and you then tumble at once upon the conclusion that the interpretation of the Constitution which may be *incident* to the trial of these 'cases' is final. Of course, the judgment in the 'case' actually pending is final, as the settlement of a controversy, for weal or woe to the litigating parties; but *as a precedent*, it is not final even in the Supreme Court itself. When cited afterwards, it will be regarded with respect as an *interpretation of the Constitution*, and, if nothing appears against it, of controlling authority; but at any day, in any litigation, at the trial of any 'case,' it will be within the unquestionable competency of the Court to review its own decision, *so far as it establishes any interpretation of the Constitution*. And if this power is accorded to the Court literally, within its own sphere, to bind and unbind the text of the Constitution, according to its judgment, with what face can it be denied to the co-ordinate branches of the Government, who are respectively under oath to support the Constitution, and who, like the Court itself, may be called, within their respective spheres, *incidentally* to interpret the Constitution? In both instances, the power to interpret the Constitution is *incident* to other principal duties, as the trial of cases or the making of laws; and it seems as plainly *incident* to a 'case' of legislation as to one of the 'cases' of litigation.

But I leave this topic, and also the rhetorical appeals which you address to the people of Massachusetts in behalf of tyrannical laws, forgetful that among their best titles to respect is the resistance which they organized against the stamp act and tea tax, though sanctioned by acts of Parliament and by Judges, even as the fugitive slave bill in our day.

Jumping next from the rule of President Jackson, as adopted by me, which you will see is applicable only to those who have taken an official oath to support the Constitution and not to private citizens, you swiftly arraign me again because I repudiate the doctrine of *passive obedience* to tyrannical power, in whatever form it may assume, and assert for every citizen, whether in public or private station, the supremacy of conscience, as the final arbiter of all duty, to the extent of braving the penalties of an unjust law rather than obeying it. In conducting this arraignment, you are pleased to quote a fraction of a sentence in my speech, as follows:—'The whole dogma of *passive obedience* must be rejected, whatever guise it may assume, and under whatever *alias* it may skulk, whether in the *tyrannical usurpations* of King, Parliament or Judicial Power.' And then you bravely exclaim: 'Indeed! Does this Senator of the United States thus openly maintain *that there is to be no obedience to the laws?*' No such thing; and you, gentlemen, though you unfairly maimed the very sentence which you pretend to quote, must admit that it contains no such absurdity. Mark my words. It is only the *tyrannical usurpations* of the King, Parliament, or Judicial Power which must be resisted, (of course, under all the personal perils and responsibilities incident to such resistance;) and I proceed to say, in the very sentence from which you have wrested your quotation, 'whether in the exploded theories of Sir Robert Filmer or the rampant assumptions of the partizans of the fugitive slave bill;' thus showing that I claimed no such general exemption from the law as you attribute to me.

But, with marvellous inconsistency, while condemning my moderate doctrine, you actually quote and adopt the following language from Mr. Webster: '*He* [the President] *may refuse to obey the law and* SO MAY A PRIVATE CITIZEN; *but both do it at their peril.*' Of course they do. And again, on a late occasion, you quoted with high commendation a recent charge to the Grand Jury by a distinguished Judge of Massachusetts, [Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar,] which contains the following explicit passage:

'It has been said sometimes and in some places, that there are laws which it is the duty of citizens to disobey or resist. I have no doubt, gentlemen, and I suppose none of you have any doubt, that a law may be enacted by a Republican Government, as well as an order passed by a despot, which may be in itself wicked; and if a statute is passed which any citizen, examining his duty by the best light God has given him, and acting conscientiously and uprightly, believes to be wicked, and which, acting under the law of God, he thinks he ought to disobey, unquestionably he ought to disobey that statute, because he ought to "obey God rather than man." I suppose that any man who would seriously deny that there is anything higher than human law, must ultimately deny even the existence of the Most High.

'But, gentlemen, it is not a question of private conscience which determines our duties in the premises. A man whose private conscience leads him to disobey a law recognized by the community must take the consequences of that disobedience. It is a matter solely between him and his Maker. He should take good care that he is not mistaken, that his private opinion does not result from passion or prejudice; but, if he believes it to be his duty to disobey, he must be prepared to abide by the result, and the laws, as they are enacted and settled by the constituted authorities to be constitutional and valid, must be enforced, although it may be to his grievous harm.'

I presume that you will not deliberately question the principle which is thus enunciated by Mr. Webster and by Judge Hoar. But this principle is identical with that which you so warmly condemn *when put forth by me*. The very speech which you undertake to criticise, and which was before you when you wrote, contains these words:

'The judgments of courts are of binding authority upon inferior tribunals and executive functionaries, whose virtue does not prompt them to resign office rather than aid in the execution of an unjust law. *Over all citizens, whether in public or private station, they will naturally exert, as precedents, a commanding influence.* This I admit; but no man, who is not lost to self-respect and ready to abandon that manhood which is shown in the Heaven-directed countenance, will voluntarily aid in enforcing a judgment which, in his conscience, he solemnly believes to be against the fundamental law, whether of the Constitution or of God. *Not lightly, not rashly will he take the grave responsibility of open dissent; but, if the occasion requires, he will not hesitate. Pains and penalties may be endured, but wrong must not be done.* "*I cannot obey, but I can suffer,*" *was the exclamation of the author of Pilgrim's Progress, when imprisoned for disobedience to an earthly statute. Better suffer injustice than do it.* Better be even the poor slave, returned to bondage, than the unhappy commissioner.'

And in another speech, made by me in the Senate, and reported in the *Congressional Globe*, the supremacy of conscience is more fully vindicated and defined:

'As the throne of God is above every earthly throne, so are his laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of man. To question these is to question God himself. But to assume that human laws are beyond question is to claim for their fallible authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with those of God, is presumptuously and impiously to exalt man to an equality with God. Clearly, human laws are not always in such conformity; nor can they ever be beyond question from each individual. Where the conduct is open, as if Congress should command the perpetration of murder, the office of conscience as final arbiter, is undisputed. But in every conflict, the same queenly office is hers. By no earthly power can she be dethroned. *Each person, after anxious examination, without hate, without passion, solemnly for himself, must decide this great controversy. Any other rule attributes infallibility to human laws; places them beyond question, and degrades all men to an unthinking passive obedience.*

'According to St. Augustine, an unjust law does not appear to be a law—*lex esse non videtur quæ justa non fuerit*; and the great fathers of the church, while adopting these words, declare openly that unjust laws are not binding. Sometimes they are called "abuses," and not laws; sometimes "violences," and not laws. And here again the conscience of each person is the final arbiter. But this lofty principle is not confined to the church. A master of philosophy in early Europe, a name of intellectual renown, the eloquent Abelard, in Latin verses addressed to his son, has clearly expressed the universal injunction:

'"Jussa potestatis terrenæ discutienda,
Cœlestis tibi mox perficienda scias.
Siquis divinis jubeat contraria jussa
Te contra Dominum pactio nulla trahat.'

The mandates of an earthly power are to be discussed; those of Heaven must at once be performed; nor can any agreement constrain us against God. Such is the rule of morals. *Such also, by the lips of judges and sages, has been the proud declaration of the English law, whence our own is derived.* In this conviction, patriots have fearlessly braved unjust commands, and martyrs have died.

'And now, sir, the rule is commended to us. The good citizen, as he thinks of the shivering fugitive, guilty of no crime, pursued, hunted down like a beast, while praying for Christian help and deliverance, and as he reads the requirements of this act, is filled with horror. Here is a despotic mandate, "to aid and assist in the prompt and effective execution of this law." Again let me speak frankly. Not rashly would I set myself against any provision of law. This grave responsibility I would not lightly assume. But here the path of duty is clear. By the supreme law, which commands me to do no injustice; by the comprehensive Christian law of brotherhood; *by the Constitution which I have sworn to support*, I AM BOUND TO DISOBEY THIS ACT. *Never, in my capacity, can I render voluntary aid in its execution. Pains and penalties I will endure; but this great wrong I will not do.*'

I have too often observed, that all who undertake to uphold slavery, or that false interpretation of the Constitution by which its asserted rights are maintained, seem unconsciously to fall into a denial of the plainest principles of morals and the grandest truths of freedom: but I believe that you will not now venture to call me to order for any thing said in vindication of the supremacy of conscience. An illustration will bring home to your convictions the absurdity of any position different from mine. If, for instance, Congress should decree the enslavement and sale of the honorable editors of the *National Intelligencer*, and a judge should be found audaciously to declare the act unconstitutional, I do not doubt that you would denounce the whole proceedings, even though sanctioned by Congress and Judge, as a *tyrannical usurpation*, which good citizens, at every personal hazard, must refuse to obey. But there are many who, in their consciences, regard any legislation of Congress, though sanctioned by judges innumerable, under which a fellow-being is reduced to slavery, as a *tyrannical usurpation*, hardly less flagrant than that which I have supposed, and which good citizens, at every personal hazard, must refuse to obey.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your faithful servant,

CHARLES SUMNER.

From the Boston Telegraph.

THE NEW VICTIM OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

The discomfiture and mal-treatment of Mr. Deputy Marshal Butman, on his late visit to Worcester, has thrown some of our city contemporaries, among which we may note particularly the *Times*, *Mail* and *Traveller*, almost into hysterics. But what, pray, do these journals expect? It is laid down, not only by revelation, but by nature, too, that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. The example of violence is contagious. He who lends himself as a mercenary tool to execute violence, made still more hateful as well as still more terrible by being veiled in a show of legality, need not expect to escape—at least among men of Puritan ideas and Anglo-Saxon breeding—becoming himself, presently, the victim of a violence by which the ordinary safeguards of the law are openly trampled under foot.

The people of Massachusetts no more believe in the binding force of the Fugitive Slave Act than they believed some ninety years ago in the binding force of the Stamp Act, or a hundred years ago in the right of British naval officers to make a press of our streets. The privilege of Boston citizens to be free from such seizure was effectually vindicated in the year 1749 by a mob, whom the wealthier citizens, when they thought the town in danger of being bombarded by Commodore Knowles, stigmatized as 'negroes and persons of vile condition,' but whose violence, nevertheless, they had themselves encouraged and stimulated as the most effectual way, as it proved to be, of meeting this gross outrage, and of preventing its repetition.

So it was in the revolutionary times. Among those who fell in the famous Boston massacre of 1770, was one Attucks, a negro, but who had with the other victims—though colored children are not even now admitted to our public schools—a splendid public funeral, and whose death, with that of the others, was for years commemorated—(notwithstanding the acquittal on the ground that they had acted *within the law* of the soldiers who had slain them,) by annual orations from such men as Warren and Hancock. And he and they were thus honored, because they had braved all the terrors of the law, even when that law was backed by bullets and bayonets, in defence of the rights and the liberties of Massachusetts.

As to Mr. Butman, he seems to have suffered very much the same treatment which happened to two military officers whom Gage had sent into the country in disguise, to take observations, shortly before the battle of Lexington, and who scampered back to Boston somewhat damaged, and still more frightened, bringing very terrible accounts, as Butman does, of the insubordinate and rebellious spirit of the rash country people, and putting the Boston tory presses of that day into great agitation.

Now, our United States officials may as well understand at once, that so far forth as relates to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, they now are looked upon here in Massachusetts very much in the same light in which Governor Gage and his tools, civil and military, were regarded in 1775. In Boston, they may be tolerably safe, but let them venture into the country on any such errand, or under suspicion of any such errand, at the peril of their skins; and let us tell them, too, that they are watched, and that it will not be possible for one of them, disguise himself as he will, to be for half an hour in the most remote and retired part of the State, before his incognito will fail him, and he will have at least a dozen *vigilant* observers at his heels, to watch his every step and action. As to such officers as were actually concerned in the kidnapping of Burns, they will not, if they take our advice, venture into the country at all. Their mere presence anywhere will arouse just suspicions, on which action more prompt than agreeable to the parties suffering will be very apt to follow.

It is our old Massachusetts maxim to repel force by force, come from whatever quarter it may, and under whatever disguise of legal authority; and although our slave-catching officials may possibly maintain themselves here in Boston a little while longer, at least during the official term of Messrs. Smith and Washburn, as Gage and his officials did all through the year 1775, even now it is not safe for them to venture into the country, nor can they look for impunity even in Governor Washburn's own city of Worcester.

The immediate provoker of this Worcester riot, and the man to whom Butman ought to look for the reparation of his damages, is, we take it, Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett, Mr. Pierce's slave-catching attorney for the district of Massachusetts. An attempt was made by this person to obtain, three months ago, from the then United States Grand Jury, bills of indictment against certain persons supposed to have been concerned in the attack upon the court-house with the view of rescuing Burns. But that Grand Jury, in the sound exercise of their legal discretion and rights—for to that end do Grand Juries exist—declined to find any bills. Perhaps they thought that as Massachusetts had already assumed jurisdiction of that affair, it was best to leave it in her hands. Perhaps they doubted the constitutionality of the slave act. Perhaps they were not satisfied with the evidence: at any rate, they ignored the bills: and here, in common cases, the matter would have stopped. But Mr. Hallett is not a common case. A renegade abolitionist turned slave-hunter must needs exhibit a little of the blood-hound. So he has his witnesses here at the present term of the court, and sends Butman to Worcester for new ones, expecting, we suppose, to wheedle or bully the new Grand Jury into hunting in his pack. We doubt, however, if he will succeed much better than his compatriot Butman did. Mr. Hallett, we know, is tough and brazen: but the contemptuous glances of four and twenty grand jurymen, who know their rights as such, and who mean to maintain the rights of their fellow-citizens and their State, must be almost equivalent, spiritually considered, at least, to a pelting with rotten eggs, or even with paving-stones.

From the N. Y. Independent.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE SLAVES.

On reading the late correspondence of Rev. Dr. Adams, of Boston, in which he speaks so hopefully of the piety of a large proportion of our Southern slaves, I have been reminded of a few facts recently gathered by myself at the South, touching the same matter. I became somewhat familiar with the state of the churches, and of the blacks connected with them, in many of the cities and villages throughout the Southern Atlantic States. In these churches, the number of blacks in attendance was generally small, not one-fifth of the whole population. In some cases, the proportion was greater. Often did I see them in groups, on horseback and on foot, roaming about the woods and fields, or congregated in barns or sheds, and 'having a good time of it.' The Sabbath was a day of freedom from toil, and of the afternoon especially they made a right merry holiday. The preaching which those heard who attended church was frequently above their comprehension, and poorly adapted to their wants. They manifested the greatest interest in the closing appeals of the sermon, and often, evidently without understanding the subject considered, shouted 'Amen!' 'Oh! yes!' 'Bress de Lawd!' They showed great delight in the singing, and, when permitted to do so, joined zealously in it, often raising their voices above those of the choir, and throwing in slurs and accidentals and original passages *ad libitum*. Seats were commonly assigned them in the gallery, where they sat in rows close together, frequently swaying back and forth as their feelings were wrought upon by the sermon, or by single expressions in it.

A clergyman in one of the Southern cities, himself a slaveholder, who takes a great interest in the welfare of the blacks, and preaches regularly to a colored congregation, told me that often on coming out of the pulpit the negroes would meet him, saying: 'Massa, I thank you for that sermon; it was just the doctrine I wanted to hear.' And on his replying that he was 'glad that "Uncle" was interested,' and asking what doctrine in particular pleased him, the negro would respond: 'O Massa, thus and so,' something entirely foreign to the subject he had been trying hard to unfold to his hearers! The poor man had evidently caught up some word or sentence which interested him, and forgot all the rest.

Another clergyman, a Southerner in all his interests and prejudices, told me that *he could not in charity believe that one half of those slaves who professed to be pious were really so.* He said that they were mostly believers in baptismal regeneration; were very desirous to get baptized, by immersion as a favorite mode, thinking then they had nothing more to do, and might live afterward as they pleased. It is very common for them to practice theft, profanity, licentiousness, falsehood, and other vices, and yet claim to be pious. And it is almost impossible to make them feel that such conduct is sinful. Their religious opinions, so far as they have any, are vague, and largely mixed up with superstition. Nor, perhaps, is this very much to be wondered at, since the law forbids their reading the Bible and all other books, and so shuts out all mental cultivation. And yet it is pleasant and probably safe to hope that, in spite of all these wrongs, in the midst of all this ignorance, many become wise unto salvation. That so many and so great obstacles are thrown in the way of their moral and religious improvement is a thing deeply to be deplored, and one which it is to be hoped that conscientious men at the North will never cease to be 'distressed about.' VERITAS.

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

DON'T GIVE IT UP.

The Western Tennesseans are still frothing and resolving about the Salem rescue. The Memphis resolutions, which we inserted a week or two since, were transmitted to the Mayor of Cincinnati. They required of the Cincinnatians, that inasmuch as Mr. Blackwell, who participated in the rescue, was a resident of their city, they should make a public demonstration, disapproving of the rescue; otherwise, the merchants of Memphis would discontinue all commercial intercourse with that city, and also do all in their power to divert the trade of the South therefrom.

The Mayor of Cincinnati transmitted this document to the Chamber of Commerce. Resolutions were presented and advocated by some members of that body, with due humility apologizing for and deprecating the act. But the majority of the members decided to send back the Mayor's communication, with the message that it referred to matters not fit to be brought before the Chamber of Commerce. So it seems, happily, that the merchants of Cincinnati are not all to be frightened by this child's play of the slaveholders. Time was when they trembled at such threats; but they have now learned to estimate them at something like their true value, and they cease to disturb their equanimity.

The citizens of Macon county, Tennessee, have also held a meeting, sustaining the meeting of Memphis, and starting some quite original doctrines, as well as some cute plans of revenge. The object of the meeting is stated to be 'for the purpose of expressing their views upon the recent villanous abolition outrage in Salem, Ohio, committed upon the property of Mr. J. J. Robinson, of Memphis.' They talk of 'fire, faggot and knife,' with wonderful composure and self-complacency. The resolutions adopted are as follows:—

'Resolved, That upon the subject of this outrage we endorse the appropriate proceedings of the late meeting at Memphis.

Resolved, That in view of our sympathy for our friends, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, we will hold said Blackwell and his fanatical coadjutors responsible, wherever we may find them.

Resolved, That the acts and doings of said Blackwell and his motley crew of white and black, were neither civil, Christian, nor patriotic; but those of base cowards, warring upon the rights and property of defenceless travellers, which deserves, and, if persisted in, will terminate in fire, faggot and knife.

Resolved, That we petition the Governor of this State to correspond with the Governor of Ohio, requesting the restitution of said slave, or the payment of her value to her rightful owners, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson.

Resolved, That in the event of the refusal of the State of Ohio to comply with this request, it will be within the power, and also within the line of duty of the State of Tennessee, to protect her citizens from loss; and that this can be most effectually done by paying Robinson for his slave, and taking a transfer of title to the State of Tennessee, and then by bringing suit in the Supreme Court of the United States for said slave, or her value, against the State of Ohio; the said Court having original jurisdiction of suits between two of the States of this Union.

On motion, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the members of this meeting offer, and jointly and severally bind themselves to pay the sum of one thousand dollars to any one delivering the said H. B. Blackwell to them, or either of them, in the town of Macon.

Mr. Blackwell is highly honored. These chivalrous Tennesseans will give $1000 for him to his kidnappers as a subject for 'fire, faggot, and the knife,' for their amusement. Mr. Blackwell's danger, we take it, is not very imminent, and he will probably take it calmly. Five thousand did not suffice to buy Mr. Garrison's head, and one thousand only from the Macon chivalry will be thought too mean to tempt even a willing scoundrel to take Mr. Blackwell's whole person. But perhaps they propose to use the Fugitive Slave Law. How well that might do, we can't say.

If the Governor of Ohio had the inclination, (which, since the election, he probably will not have, whatever might before have been the case,) we should be curious to see by what authority he would attempt to seize Abby Kelley Salem, and restore her to 'her rightful owner.' We can inform the citizens of Macon, that if he were to attempt it, he would become, by our laws, a fit subject for the penitentiary. This child was emancipated by the laws of Pennsylvania and the act of her master, who brought her to that State. She came to Ohio a free person, and as such, the laws of Ohio will protect her from this meeting of Macon kidnappers, even if they should succeed in enlisting the Governor of Ohio as an accomplice. Some cute, renegade Yankee lawyer, who has squatted among the Macon folks, probably drafted the resolution proposing to the State of Tennessee to buy the property running, and then sue the State of Ohio. The Federal Court would decide almost anything for slavery, and yet we think even it would say, that Robinson, having emancipated his slave in Pennsylvania, could never sell her again, not even to the State of Tennessee.

But we notice still another meeting in Cincinnati. It is called an 'adjourned' meeting, and was composed (so the account says) of *ten* persons. This immortal ten were steamboat men, and sympathize with the meetings of Memphis and Macon, condemn Mr. Blackwell and the Salem 'mob,' and all in the name of the steamboat men of the West.

This, so far as we know, is the history of recent meetings, resolutions and other doings relative to the Salem affair.

From the New York Tribune.

PLAN FOR EMANCIPATION.

Mrs. Glass was entirely right in beginning her directions for dressing a hare for dinner with 'First, catch your hare.' The process may or may not be easy; but it is in either case indispensable, and must not be overlooked. Forgetting it has been the cause of many political and social blunders.

Dr. Jacob Dewees of Philadelphia has lishpubed a thin, imposing Essay, entitled 'The Great Future of America and Africa; An Essay showing our whole duty to the Black Man, consistent with our own Safety and Glory.' His plan is, in brief, to set apart the proceeds of the Public Domain, including the California Gold Mines, exclusively to the purchase, (where now in Slavery,) education, deportation and colonization in Africa, of the Blacks—the lands to be raised in price as they grow scarcer, and the California miners being obliged to pay a tax on all the gold obtained by them from land that is public property. Such is the essence of Dr. D.'s plan.

We urge only one objection to it, though others might be presented. The Doctor's hare is not yet caught, and it were idle to dispute as to the proper mode of dressing him until we can get hold of him. In other words—it is essential that the South as well as the North should be thoroughly convinced of the injustice and mischief of Slavery, before we need concoct or consider plans for its eradication.

Dr. Dewees doubtless thinks Slavery a bad thing. We think likewise, only more so. But very many Northern people take a view of the matter far more nearly in accordance with the practical philosophy of John Mitchel, and we find that is to-day the predominant if not prevalent view of the South.—Do you imagine the slave-owner who is receiving from $5 to $20 per month for the services of his human chattels respectively, wants to get rid of Slavery? If you do, you are too jolly green to live through a frosty winter. He may admit that, in some vague, mystical sense, Slavery is an evil, but he will insist in the same breath that it is one incurable by the present generation. We must have patience and 'wait God's time'—that is, wait till his negroes cease to be profitable, or he becomes incapable of enjoying what they earn for him. So the planter, overseer, slave-trader, and nearly all the men of power at the South will strenuously oppose, not merely Dr. Dewees' plan, but *any* plan that meditates the extermination of Slavery. We verily believe that several Southern States would bolt from the Union if any considerable part of the common property of the Nation were devoted to any object connected with the extinction of Slavery.

We need, therefore, to suggest no other objections. *The South will not consent to any such project* as that of Dr. Dewees, and nothing of the sort can be effected until after a great change shall have been wrought in public sentiment. We, therefore, have no particular plan for abolishing Slavery, and don't want any at present. Whenever the American People shall really *want* Slavery abolished, they will very soon decide how to obtain the end—they will find or make a way. The work of to-day is to convince them of the truth that Slavery is to us a source of weakness, jealousy, irritation, reproach and impoverishment:—that it is the interest as well as duty of the South to get rid of it. Conviction of this would ensure a speedy abatement of the evil; but so long as the ruling class suppose that Slavery is a benefit *to them*, there will be no general emancipation, and all 'plans' for effecting it are waste-paper. That is all we have to say to Dr. Dewees.

From the Rhode Island Freeman.

PROGRESS OF TRUTH.

The Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North is amongst the 'fixed facts.' It will not die out, and cannot be crushed out. It may be betrayed, as it has been a score of times; but it cannot be killed, and cannot die. It may be misdirected, and avail little in political struggles; but it will still live, and in its own appointed time, will meet the haughty, domineering spirit of slavery aggression, face to face. It has its home in the great and eternal principles of Right and Truth, and can no more die than God can prove false to the elements of his own greatness.

And, bear in mind, we do not mean by what we term the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North, the passing breeze of opposition to new aggressions of the Slave Power, which we witness every two or three years in New England pulpits and New England newspapers. We mean something far more deep, and permanent, and important. We mean, not merely opposition to slavery extension, but hatred of slavery in all its forms, and everywhere.

It is the boast of our enemies, frequently, that the opposition which their madness begets—as exhibited in agitations against particular measures—is almost always short-lived and feeble. They find much consolation when a new cause of excitement occurs, in the fact that the last previous one did not last for ever. Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the other compromise measures of 1850, they now gravely inform us, had its day, and died. The excitement lasted but a few years.—This is not strictly true; but admitting it to be, in all its length and breadth, and it does not follow that we gained nothing. Our gain was not in the excitement—was not in the permanency of zealous opposition to a particular feature of slavery,—but in the growing hatred of the institution itself. The people get weary, sometimes, of clamoring against this or that piece of villany. Indeed, villanies so rapidly follow each other, that they find it hard to do justice to one, before another claims all their attention. But with each new phase of slavery's hideousness, something is gained to freedom, even if the repose of the monster is not essentially disturbed; for the people, in every such case, naturally enough turn their thoughts to the source of the evil, and very soon come to the conclusion that it must be an evil tree which is constantly producing evil fruit. They become *Anti-Slavery* in soul and sentiment. For a moment, they were aroused only as the friends of free soil and the enemies of slavery extension. They would acknowledge nothing more; and, indeed, with slavery where it was, and as it was, they did not dream of finding fault. But now comes the 'sober, second thought.' And the result of it is, in many thousands of cases, a deep-seated, powerful and permanent conviction of the sinfulness of slavery itself, accompanied with an honest man's determination, not only to oppose its extensions and battle some of the more revolting of its supports, but to strike against it everywhere; to speak against it, pray against it, vote against it, write against it—as a thing of evil. Yesterday it was to them a thing of encroachments only, and needing restriction. To-day, it is a child of perdition, a fiend incarnate—and demanding annihilation. Yesterday, our thinking friend was only an Anti-Extensionist. To-day, he is an Abolitionist.

Do the politicians take this into consideration, when they make up their precise calculations as to the length of what they call an Anti-Slavery fever? Did Mr. Douglas have it in mind when he assured a Northern Senator, that all the excitement produced by the passage of the Nebraska bill would die out in a few short months? Did he not, on the contrary, take it for granted that when the excitement should die, everything would go back to its old resting-place? We think so.

And herein is the grand mistake of these shrewd managers. They make no calculation for the natural growth of freedom. Because excitements die out, they take it for granted that honest convictions die out also. Because the surface is not ruffled with an opposing wind, they are sure that the water in the stream does not move.

It is undoubtedly true that Pierce, and Douglas, and Cass, and the Southern politicians who fought so earnestly for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, made this mistake. They did not mistake the character of their measure; but they did mistake the character and temper of the people. They honestly thought that all the unpleasant consequences of their treachery would vanish in a few short months. 'The war-dogs of Abolition,' they said to each other, 'will growl for a while, right smartly; but we will cry out "Fanaticism!" and "Sectionalism!"—will shout lustily for "Squatter Sovereignty"—and shortly the war-dogs will sleep again, as soundly as ever.' It never entered their noddles, that as well while the war-dogs slept as while they growled, the people would THINK.

We say once more that the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country is not dead, and cannot die. It has sunk down into the hearts of the people. It grows and gains strength with every day of the world's existence. It does not depend upon excitement for life or being; nor does it cease to live when the enemies of liberty cease to howl.

It is doing its work. Even the old Whig party of the North, after having been NATIONALIZED to its heart's content, comes back to it, and cannot again disregard it in the next twenty years. At the same time, it finds a home in every political and in every religious organization. There are Anti-Slavery Whigs, Anti-Slavery Democrats, Anti-Slavery Know Nothings, Anti-Slavery Infidels, and Anti-Slavery Christians everywhere. The missionary associations, the denominational conventions, the political gatherings, all recognize it, and seek new life from it. The pulpit thunders, where it only whispered it, one year ago. The press is doing its share, and a glorious share, of the good work. The wheels move—Truth marches onward—Right triumphs.

Let us take heart, then, friends of humanity, and press forward in our good work. Oppression, it is true, has put on its darkest form, but the skies are brighter, and the future is full of hope. The day of victory will come at last.

From the A. S. Standard.

THE PHILADELPHIA LEDGER.

The *Ledger* is a journal somewhat remarkable, in the daily press of this country, for the good sense of its editorials, and still more so for the purity and accuracy with which it uses the English language. But an editorial paragraph appeared in its columns, last week, which, in both these respects, displays a degree of stupidity quite unworthy of that paper. It is as follows:

'The Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meeting at West Chester, last week, and renewed the folly of repudiating the Fugitive Slave Law, and declaring that they owed it neither respect nor obedience. As citizens of the United States, they owe it both, and what is more, they will have to pay what they owe. It is rather late in the day for a minority to say that they will not respect the laws of the land. The majority have the power, and will make them do it. By discussion and argument, they may change the majority and the law—but until they do so, it is worse than folly, it is falsehood, to say that they will not submit.'

The absurdity of the assertion that a majority will *make* a minority *respect* principles, or statutes, or constitutions, is so evident that it needs not to be shown. Equally absurd is the declaration that a majority can compel a conscientiously opposed minority to *obey* a statute. They can, of course, inflict on them the penalty of disobedience, to which they must submit; and here the *Ledger* shows gross inaccuracy in the use of language, by using the words '*submit*' and '*obey*,' as if they were interchangeable terms; and then charges the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society with the absurd announcement that it will not submit to the Fugitive Slave Law. Under any government, the peaceable subject or the citizen must submit to the governing power, whether it reside in a majority, or an aristocracy, or an absolute sovereign. But if he be a man true to his own conscience and to his God, he will never either respect or obey a statute which contravenes his sense of right. They who flippantly talk of *making* the Abolitionists send back the fugitive slave, as the infamous statute of 1850 requires, have greatly mistaken their men—ay, and their women, too. The Pope talked of making Luther obey Holy Mother Church; James the Second attempted to make the Protestants of his time respect her decrees; and the Church of England tried its hand in making Dissenters obey unjust laws. To the glorious fact that all these and many other such efforts were failures, the *Ledger* owes its power to speak, to-day, fearlessly and freely, whatever it will, on politics, religion or social customs. Does it suppose that the old heroic, martyr-spirit has died out of the world, or that there is no farther need of it? Does it think that, with all the experience of the past, to enlighten and sustain them, there are, in this age, no men and women of the Anglo-Saxon race strong enough in their love of freedom and their reverence for truth to stand up, though alone, against the world, and refuse to take an oath of allegiance to popes, kings, or majorities, whose statutes require the surrender of their consciences? Does it really believe that the race of men have passed away who would dare to obey God's laws, and so disobey man's statutes, when the latter conflict with the former? If the gentlemen of the *Ledger* think thus, how very dark and dismal must be their views of life, and their hopes for the world! Truly, it would be for their edification and encouragement to attend an Anti-Slavery Convention.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SLAVERY IN OHIO.

We call attention to the article we copy from the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, showing how some of the conductors of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Rail Road connive with Southern tyrants to perpetuate slavery on the free soil of Ohio. If the present Anti-Nebraska movement has not in it an element sufficiently Anti-Slavery to create a sentiment that will condemn and drive out of the State the actors in such iniquity, we shall deem it a small improvement indeed, upon the spirit and sentiment that have heretofore submitted to the steady demands and encroachments of the Slave Power. We shall believe it until convinced by indubitable evidence. —*Columbian*.

Perhaps we are not good at tracing the connection between cause and effect; certainly, we are unable to see how 'the present Anti-Nebraska movement is going to drive out of the State the actors in such an iniquity,' as that referred to above. We think the *Columbian's* organ of discovery must have been unusually magnetized, when it could make such an observation, especially when the fact was just transpiring before it, that several of the prominent newspaper organs of the 'Anti-Nebraska movement' were the advocates of slaveholding *ad libitum*, in transit through Ohio. The editor of the Cleveland *Herald* would have turned the key of that car door, and locked the slave from his rescuers. So would those editorial associates of the *Herald*, who made such an outcry about the outraged right of the slaveholder, who lost his chattel in Salem the other day, their melancholy din for his loss for the time drowning their outcry against the Nebraska outrage. These editors contributed most largely to this outrage, to which the *Columbian* refers, by their support and defence of the former crime of slaveholding in Ohio. They led the railroad folks to suppose that public sentiment would sustain them in treading in the dust liberty and the Ohio Constitution. And their contributions to the Anti-Nebraska movement did nothing to hinder this result. They saw that Anti-Nebraska men were by no means of necessity Anti-Slavery men. We see it, too, and therefore are compelled to think the *Columbian* will be disappointed when it calculates that the 'Anti-Nebraska movement' will drive slaveholders from Ohio. It requires an ABOLITION MOVEMENT, *positive and direct*, to do that, and we greatly grieve that the friends of abolition should waste their time and energies upon any other movement.

UNCLE TOM ABROAD.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* thus writes:

Our most prominent and extraordinary representative abroad is really Uncle Tom. His influence is in permanent evidence at Paris. Not only creameries, dry goods and eating shops are named after his humble abode, but by force of an elaborate jest, the Palais Royal, the residence of ex-King Jerome, is also called the *Case d'oncle Tom*. The etymological process that leads to this titular result is as follows, and is sufficiently intelligible, if you will keep in your mind's ear the rules of French pronounciation: Napoleon I. was the Grand Homme; Napoleon III. is the Petit 'Omme, and his uncle Jerome, of utter insignificance, is necessarily the Oncle Tom. Four or five children's books are published in cheap form by societies of Religious Instruction, extracted from or built upon Mrs. Stowe's masterpiece, and bearing its title as their best recommendation. You have not forgotten George Sand's generous homage of admiration paid to Mrs. Stowe and her book; now we have Heinrich Heine, the greatest living wit of Europe, taking lessons in reading the Scriptures from the American slave, introducing him with honor and by name among the first creators and creatures of European literature. So much you may read in an article of the last *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled *Les Aveux d'un Poëte*.

RETRIBUTION OF SLAVE-TRADING.

Strange and frightful maladies have been engendered by the cruelties perpetrated within the hold of a slaver. If any disease affecting the human constitution were brought there, we may be sure that it would be nursed into mortal vigor in these receptacles of filth, corruption and despair. Crews have been known to die by the fruit of their own crime, and leave ships almost helpless. They have carried the scourge with them. The coast fever of Africa—bad enough where it has its birth—came in these vessels, and has assumed, perhaps, a permanent abode in the western regions of the world. No fairer sky or healthier sky were there on earth than in the beautiful bay and amid the grand picturesque scenery of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil. But it became the haunt of slavers, and the dead of Africa floated on the glittering waters, and were tumbled upon the sands of its harbor. The shipping found, in the hot summer of 1849, that death had come with the slavers. Thirty or forty vessels were lying idly at their anchors, and their crews had mostly perished. The pestilence swept along the coast of that empire with fearful malignity. Cuba for the same crime met the same retribution. Cargoes of slaves were landed to die, and brought the source of their mortality ashore, vigorous and deadly. The fever settled there in the beginning of 1853, and came to our country as summer approached, in merchant vessels from the West Indies. At New Orleans, Mobile, and other places, it spread desolation over which the country mourned. Let it be remembered that it is never safe to disregard crime.—*Africa and the American Flag*.

PRO-SLAVERY LITERATURE AT A DISCOUNT. The stereotype plates of *Fletcher's Studies on Slavery*, an octavo of 637 pages, were sold by the sheriff, at Philadelphia, on the 7th ult., for sixty-five dollars. Their cost must have been over a thousand dollars. The books, 450 copies, were sold for 27½ cents per copy, except 15 copies which sold a trifle higher. This is the work of which the Southern press chanted such loud praise, that one was led to expect it was destined to snatch the 'peculiar institution' from that deep infamy into which it is so rapidly sinking. Instead of this, to use the language of the Pittsburg *Christian Advocate*, 'The book has proved emphatically a bad speculation. To mend his shattered fortunes, Mr. Fletcher will have to try his pen on some subject more congenial to the public taste, even at the South. The divine right of slavery, like the divine right of kings, has passed its day. The heart of humanity rebels against the doctrine; and if individuals are induced to profess it, it is not through the power of logic, but of personal interest. The moment men, free from the prejudice of interest, contemplate the doctrine of slavery, they instinctively reject it as a violation of the natural and dearest rights of humanity; though social restraints may prevent the avowal of their principles. The secret of the failure of Fletcher's book lay in this, that it was adapted only to the plantation, not to the honest masses at the South; who, though they may tolerate slavery as a necessary evil, abhor an attempt to justify it on the grounds of Scripture and reason. We look upon the fate of Fletcher's book as a favorable sign of the times. It is a merited and timely rebuke of the rampant pro-slavery spirit of a few corrupt politicians, both in the North and South.—*Zion's Herald*.

THE CUBAN EXPEDITION. The New Orleans correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, under date of Oct. 19, says—'I learn from head quarters, that the new Cuban expedition, which was to have left the States under command of Gen. Quitman, *has failed*, and there is no probability of future hope or success. I have been promised, by one of the "head men," a full history of the present organization, the names of the Committee here, the amounts subscribed, and the subscribers' names.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 10, 1854.

LET THERE BE LIGHT!

NEW MOVEMENT—ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have recently issued, and extensively circulated through the Free States, the following Letter. The tracts proposed are now in course of preparation. Four have already been written, and are in the Committee's hands, ready for publication. The ablest and most uncompromising anti-slavery writers are engaged in the work, and the immediate donations or pledges of all who approve the work are needed, and are earnestly solicited.

DEAR FRIEND:—

The present is the most auspicious period for the diffusion of Anti-Slavery sentiments and the inculcation of Anti-Slavery principles, that we have witnessed since the commencement of the enterprise, more than twenty years ago.

Besides the steady growth of our grand idea, through which we should naturally realize this result, the recent outrages of the Slave Power in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the carrying off of BURNS, and other deeds of terrible atrocity, have suddenly startled thousands from their death-slumbers to the dreadful fact that Slavery is determined never to cease making greater and bolder aggressions on Liberty, till no vestige of Freedom shall be left on our soil or in our souls. Yes, now, for the first time, eyes and ears, heretofore closed, are eagerly seeking to see and hear the truth, that they may make whatever effort is needful to save the slave, themselves, their children, and their country, from our present condition of suffering, of shame, or of guilt.

In this crisis, so favorable to our work, we propose to give the light so loudly demanded, by sending into the field as many devoted, efficient Lecturers, and by scattering throughout the country as many Tracts, as the friends of the cause will furnish us the means of supplying.

A series of twenty Tracts, concise, pithy, and stringent, and specially adapted to the present crisis, are now in preparation for the press, and will be stereotyped, and scattered broadcast through the country, so soon as the means shall be put into our hands.

We rely on your exertions and sacrifices to aid us in this enterprise.

The work must not be postponed. The best portion of the lecturing season is at hand. What is done must be done quickly, or half the good we might accomplish will be lost.

We entreat you, for your own soul's sake, for the slave's sake, for our country's sake, for the sake of the world's redemption, forward us such a donation as shall satisfy your conscience through time and through eternity, and, if possible, call on your friends and neighbors to enlarge the amount by their contributions.

All remittances to be made to our Treasurer, FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston, Mass. All moneys received will be acknowledged through the columns of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

On behalf of the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Rec. Sec'y.*
FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treas.*

KNOW-NOTHINGISM.

There have been many odd conditions of political affairs within our memory, but none that surpassed the comic involutions of the present state of the chess-board. We have always regarded Comeouterism, in State as well as in Church, one of those virtues which was its own reward. We release and quit-claim all title to reward for that part of our action, in another life, inasmuch as we consider that we have our recompense of reward as we go along. And we think that never before did the Masterly Inactivity of the Non-juring Abolitionists commend itself to their minds more than at this present time. They can look on with pleased philosophy at the play that is being played for their amusement, being assured that the developments of this underplot will have no controlling influence over the unfolding of the grand drama which must fill the scene, and be carried on to its *denouement*, however much the actors may wish to subordinate it to the interest of their petty episode.

The Know-Nothing Movement is one of those temporary excitations which grow up in a night, and wither when the sun is high in the heavens. It has no principle of enduring vitality, and will be gathered to the sepulchre of dead parties after a very brief space of existence. Either success or defeat will be fatal to its life. No party can prosper on so very small a capital as hatred to a Sect so much in the minority as are the Catholics. All that Law can do to prevent that denomination from holding the balance of power between the parties, in the very few places where such a state of things is possible, will be done within a year, and then the party will be bankrupt for want of a grievance. Perhaps there will be a reäction in favor of the new-comers. At any rate, political fanaticism cannot be kept up at fever heat for any long succession of years. The occasion is not sufficient. The evils are rather imaginary than real—rather in supposition than in fact. And, after a while, the masses of the people who have gone into the Movement will find that it is only the old game under a new name, in which they are the pawns or the counters to win the stakes for the cunning gamesters that direct it.

The secret organization of the party is a significant indication of the present mental and moral condition of the American people in the Free States. It is a necessary result of that demoralization which our National Institutions have occasioned. Its necessity springs from the moral cowardice and lack of personal independence which are the badge of the whole American tribe. The secrecy of the Know-Nothings is merely the patent machine which has been invented to supply the national want of a backbone,—to enable men to stand upright, after leaving the supports of one party, by supplying them with yet more effectual ones in another. This necessity is not flattering to our national vanity, but that it is one, under the circumstances, we are not disposed to doubt. It was wisely contrived to answer the purpose of getting men out of old parties into a new one, without subjecting them to the ordeal of an open breach with former friends. It is a sort of covered way, or tunnel, through which men can burrow from one camp to another, without the risk of being shot on their way, or hanged as deserters. It was a very happy hit on the part of its inventor, this recruiting the ranks of one army out of the *personnel* of another, without any body knowing any thing about it. An excellent trick of political legerdemain, worthy of Little or of Great Magicians. And it will have its effect and be felt in the results of the elections all over the country, as no open and acknowledged organization would do.

This new ingredient was stirred into the political cauldron at an unlucky moment, it must be confessed. It diverted the attention of multitudes from the real question of the age, to one that is merely collateral and inconsequential. When men were just beginning to see how slavery was mixed up with all their concerns, how it degraded their character, controlled their politics, tainted their religion, and interfered with their business, and when there was a fair chance of the lines being directly drawn between Slavery and Anti-Slavery, there 'comes me cranking in' this new Agitation, frightening honest people out of their wits with fears of the Pope, just as they were making up their minds to a stand-up fight with the Devil. It is our belief that this diversion has been secretly encouraged and promoted by the agents of the Slave Power in the Cabinet at Washington. Its effect has been precisely what the slaveholders could desire, in putting off that great battle which must come sooner or later between Slavery and Liberty, and the final result of which cannot be uncertain; and it will be made a new means of deceiving the people and prolonging the hold of the slaveholders upon them, through the juggling skill of those practised adepts at Washington. Any thing that distracts the attention of the dupes from the game that is really going on is sure to be improved by the gamesters to make it answer their own ends. And the Pope is as good a hobgoblin as any other. Hatred to Popery is ancestral and traditional, and easily worked upon by ingenious operaters. Hatred to negro slavery, and a perception of its interference with our rights, as well as with those of the slaves, is a new sentiment with the great body of the people, and it needs to be nursed and excited before it can be aroused into a passion.

Still, there are points of view from which one, who cannot approve of the philosophy or the method of the new Order, may yet see that good may come out of it—though not so great as that which it has hindered. It may teach a lesson to the non-slaveholding white voters at the South, by which they may profit in the conflict which they must pass through, or remain only a degree removed from the black slaves of their common masters. They may learn to use that secrecy and subordination in a case where there is really something at stake, which has been so effectual in an issue so much less, and so much more remote in its dangers or its hopes. But its greatest and most immediately beneficial effects will be felt in the disintegration of the old parties, and the reduction of them to their original elements. This is an essential, an indispensable requisite preliminary to a true organization and reconstruction of parties in this country. The old things must become new; but they must be ground to powder first. The old parties are now in the course of this necessary comminution between the upper millstone of Slavery and the lower one of Popery. Between them both, we hope to see the unwieldy (yet too easily wielded) masses reduced to their separate particles, which will then be ready for new combinations and affinities. There are but two natural centres for parties in America. The one Slavery at the South, and the other Anti-Slavery at the North. Of course, the circumferences of the two parties would intersect each other, and a portion of the Northern party be found in the South, and a very large section of the Southern one at the North. But the centres would be clear and distinct, and their peripheries sharply and unmistakably defined. Whereas, now, Slavery necessarily controls both the National parties, and ever will as long as their lines are so described as to tolerate slaveholders within them. The Northern party must regard the slaveholders as their natural and necessary enemies, and treat them and all their allies at home as such. This state of things is near, we hope even at the door. The hammer of the Know-Nothings, like that of Thor, may be an instrument of beneficent destruction. A new earth, at least, may grow out of the chaos it will occasion. We regard the actual results of the coming election in this State, and of the recent ones in others into which the Know-Nothing element entered, as of less than of no importance. But we shall hail with joy, as a present good, and as an omen of greater good to come, any damage that it may do to the old National parties,—both of which we heartily wish it may extirpate from the face of the earth.—Q.

LECTURES ON SLAVERY. We again call the attention of our readers to this course of lectures, advertised in another column, and advise them, if they would not lose this opportunity of listening to many of the most eminent and eloquent men of the country, to procure their tickets at once. We are glad to learn that the demand for tickets has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the Committee, and that there is every prospect that, before the opening lecture, every ticket will have been sold.

The Committee are enabled thus early to announce the topics of several of the speakers, as follows:—The Poem of Mr. PIERPONT will be on 'Slavery in its economical and moral aspects;' Mr. CHASE'S subject will be, 'The Theories of 1784 and 1854 in respect to Slavery in America;' WENDELL PHILLIPS', 'The means of abolishing Slavery;' CASSIUS M. CLAY'S, 'The Political Aspect of Slavery;' Mr. GREELEY'S, 'Slavery and Labor;' Mr. UPHAM'S, 'The Slave Element at the formation of the Constitution in the old Congress and in the Convention;' Judge WILMOT'S, 'Slavery as an element of Political Power, its Influence over the Public Opinion of the Country, and its ability to control the Policy and Legislation of the Government.'

MERCANTILE LIBRARY LECTURES. This Association presents this year a very atttractive programme of lectures. There will be, as usual, two courses,—on Monday and Wednesday evenings, commencing Nov. 13th and 15th, at the Tremont Temple. The opening lecture of the Monday evening course will be delivered by Hon. CHARLES SUMNER; that of the Wednesday evening course by Hon. GEORGE P. MARSH, of Vermont. A Poem will conclude the exercises on each opening evening. Among the names announced as speakers are those of many of our most interesting and popular lecturers, and we have no doubt that the enterprise of the young gentlemen connected with this Association will be as liberally supported this year as heretofore.

☞ We are happy to announce—just as our paper is going to press—the safe return home of Mr. GARRISON from his tour at the West, after an absence of more than three weeks, during which time he has addressed upwards of a score of public meetings on the subject of slavery in special, and the cause of reform in general. Notwithstanding his arduous labors, he returns in good health, and will doubtless give a sketch of his travels in another number. He speaks in very grateful terms of the generous hospitality every where extended to him, and is much encouraged by what he has seen and heard during his absence. There is no mistaking the signs of the times. Our cause is 'onward—right onward.'

CAPT. DRAYTON. This worthy man (whose long imprisonment at Washington for his humane intentions in regard to a considerable number of slaves is so well known, resulting in the complete prostration of his health,) is now travelling in Plymouth county, for the purpose of selling his interesting Narrative, written by RICHARD HILDRETH, Esq. of this city. With a broken down constitution, and unable to pursue any active occupation, and therefore greatly straitened in his circumstances, we strongly commend him to the sympathy, hospitality and co-operative assistance of the friends of humanity wherever he may travel. He is a modest, retiring man, making no parade of his sufferings, and no appeal on the mere score of charity, and is therefore the more deserving of encouragement.

POLITICAL AND MORAL. The letter of Hon. Charles Allen, of Worcester, which has appeared in many of the political papers this week, is a perfect annihilation of the pretensions of Mr. Henry J. Gardner, the 'Know Nothing' candidate for Governor, that he is and always has been an opponent of the Fugitive Slave Law, and a consistent friend of the Temperance cause. Other exposures of Mr. Gardner's gross attempt to deceive the people of Massachusetts have been made. If he is a man of feeling, he must rue the day that he accepted the nomination for Governor.—M.

☞ The annual meeting of the Worcester County (South) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Worcester early in December,—probably the 2d and 3d days. A more particular notice next week.

☞ Several Book Notices next week. Also, various communications, including one from Dr. Grandin.

☞ The annual State Election will take place in Massachusetts on Monday next, 13th inst.

SEVENTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

In the abstract which we gave last week of the proceedings of the recent Annual Meeting of this Society, we were unable to do justice to the very interesting discussions which took place there. Nor can we now do this; yet we desire to furnish our readers a portion of the satisfaction we have had in perusing the ample and excellent report in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and accordingly lay before them such passages as our limits allow.

The Annual Report, presented and read by Mr. McKim, judging from the abstract in the *Standard*, was an altogether business-like and valuable document.

JOHN O. WATTLES, of Indiana, spoke of the necessity of reformatory efforts at the West. Ohio was fairly awake. Indiana, two years ago, was where Ohio was ten years ago. The light decreases as you go West, in proportion to the square of the distance. Last year, a young woman came through the Western part of Indiana. She lectured in Lafayette on the subject of Woman's Rights. It was known that she was an anti-slavery lecturer also. That fact had its weight with the people. Charmed with her eloquence as a lecturer, revering her purity as a woman, and honoring her as an advocate of Human Rights, they held sacred her opinions on other important subjects of reform. When the Nebraska bill came up before the nation, the people of the State felt called upon to act. The neighborhood of Tippecanoe County, the district of John Pettit, sent near a thousand delegates to the State Anti-Nebraska Convention, and gave Pettit liberty to stay at home, by some ten or twelve thousand majority. Could this same speaker now return, the great heart of the West would throb heartily to receive her. And should any others be sent, they would be gladly welcomed. The anti-slavery sentiment has swept the State, having elected anti-slavery candidates in every district but two. Not long since, I visited Kanzas. The first place of note was the Methodist missionary station. I was welcomed very warmly by the son of the missionary, who told me that his father was absent with a drove of slaves. I went among the Indians. The Chief had been converted to the views of the missionary, and his plantation was cultivated by slaves. A discussion had arisen among these innocent children of the forest, relative to the right of slaveholding. The brother of the Chief headed the opposition, and maintained that it was not right, because *they* would not like to be made slaves of. (Thus applying the Golden Rule in defiance of the missionary teaching.) The result was about an equal division of the numbers on each side. They had to decide against the practices of the Chief at the risk of their proportion of the payments of the Indian funds, which funds they were dependent on from year to year, and all of which come through the hands of the accredited Chief. The brother of the Chief (whose name I have forgotten) told me himself that they (his party) refused to go to hear the missionary preach, or to send their children to the Mission School, solely on this ground. And if I have been correctly informed, this same Johnson was sent a delegate to Congress at the time this Nebraska Bill was concocted. The condition of the colored people of Ohio has been greatly improved. Nearly all the colored schools in the State last year were taught by competent colored teachers. A few years ago, I supplied twenty-three settlements and schools with white teachers. They have now teachers of their own, fully competent—also, teachers qualified for high schools and superintendents.

From the full and eloquent speech of WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, we make the following extracts:—

'We need not go out of the free States to see the cruelties of slavery. They are all about us. Look at the colored people of the free States, thrown out of your schools, your churches and your social circles, deprived of their political rights, and debarred from those avenues of employment that are necessary to a proper maintenance of themselves and families. Pennsylvania deprives the black man of the elective franchise, and so does New York, except with a property qualification. In most of the Northern States, he is looked upon as something to be knocked and kicked about as they see fit. There were two passengers on board the Atlantic, when I returned from Europe, who had rode with me on the same car from London to Liverpool, and we enjoyed the same privileges on board the steamer. They were foreigners, and I an American; and when they landed in this country, they were boasting that they had arrived at a land of liberty, where they could enjoy religious and political freedom. I, too, might have rejoiced, had I not been a colored man, at my return to my native land. But I knew what treatment I had to expect from my countrymen—that it would not be even such as was meted out to those foreigners, and I rejoiced only to meet my anti-slavery friends. We all started to walk up the streets of Philadelphia together; we hailed an omnibus; the two foreigners got in; I was told that 'niggers' were not allowed to ride. Foreigners, mere adventurers, perhaps, in this country, are treated as equals, while I, an American born, whose grandfather fought in the Revolution, am not permitted to ride in one of your fourth-rate omnibuses. The foreigner has a right, after five years' residence, to say who shall be President, as far as his vote goes, even though he cannot read your Constitution nor write his name, while 600,000 free colored people are disfranchised. And then you talk about equality and liberty, the land of the free and the home of the brave, the asylum of the oppressed, the cradle of liberty!

'I saw not long since in one of your papers, a statement that a colored American had applied to an American Consul in a foreign land for a passport, and it was denied him; the Consul would not admit that he was a citizen of the United States, and he was obliged to go without a passport. When I wished to leave this country, through the aid of my eloquent friend, Wendell Phillips, I secured a paper from the State of Massachusetts, showing that I was a citizen of this country. I went to Mr. Davis, the Secretary of Abbot Lawrence, and asked for my passport. I was told that I was not an American citizen. I produced my paper, and said that if he refused me a passport, I would get one from the English government, and would sail under foreign colors. I knew I could get one from the English government, because I had been offered it. The Secretary was ashamed, and turned round and made out my passport. He was afraid I would go before the English public, where the anti-slavery feeling was so strong, and make the fact known that the American Minister in England refused to recognize my citizenship. * *

'I am ashamed when I hear men talking about the national honor of this country being insulted by the Spaniards or Cubans, just as if we had any national honor to be insulted! A nation that enslaves and scourges one-sixth part of its people talking about national honor! Go to the South, and see Methodist carting Methodist to the market and selling him, Baptist whipping Baptist, and Presbyterian purchasing Presbyterian, and Episcopalian tying chains upon the limbs of Episcopalian, and then talk about national character and honor! I know these are hard sayings, but they are true, and must be told, and they are the best friends of the country who sound the alarm. You need not be startled at our motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders'; this nation has within it the elements of disunion. And are you not, after all, as much in favor of disunion as I am? Where are your rights, guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen? Where is the right of free locomotion in the slave States? Go into the Southern States an avowed enemy of slaveholding, and are you free? I point you to the murdered Lovejoy; to Burr, Work and Thompson spending four or five years in a Missouri prison; to Torrey, pining away in a Southern prison; to Fairbanks, now in a Kentucky penitentiary; to Delia Webster, persecuted and imprisoned in the same State; to Mrs. Douglass, shut up in a Virginia jail; and all because they did not think as slaveholders think. Can you be as free in South Carolina as the South Carolinian can be in Pennsylvania? He can walk the streets of Philadelphia or New York, and say what he pleases, and be protected, while a Southern Senator threatens a Northern man with hanging upon the tallest tree, if he dare show himself in Mississippi, simply because he speaks his thoughts on the subject of freedom. And when you send a man to the South to test by law this very question of the citizens of any State to all the immunities of citizens of the several States, under the Constitution, to bring it before one of the Courts of the United States in the South to be adjudicated, he is expelled from the State by mob violence.

I thank God, Mr. Chairman, that this question of American slavery is no longer a question between the black man and the slave-owner, but a question between the people of the North and South. You have allowed them to enslave the black man, to extend the institution, and to make the whole North a hunting-ground for their slaves, until the people of the free States can endure it no longer, and the North is now fairly pitted against the South. Look at your political parties torn asunder by the slavery issue—and I am glad of it. Look at your religious denominations divided on the same question—and I am glad of it. The great issue is beginning to be between the North and the South. The people of the South have always looked upon the people of the North as their pliant tools, and I am glad to see the North becoming aware of it. You welcome the fugitive from European oppression, and, after shaking hands with him and congratulating him on his escape, you turn to catch the fugitive from American oppression, and return him to his chains. And when you could find no better man to welcome, you welcomed John Mitchel, who is ready to join in the chase with you. Four hundred thousand foreigners come here every year, and you welcome them, while you drive the colored American from your very doors. * * *

'I stand here to-night a freeman by the act of British philanthropists. I left this country a slave; I returned a freeman. I am not indebted to my birth, to your Constitution, or to your Christianity, or your philanthropy for it. Am I, then, indeed, an American citizen, or am I a foreigner? Call me what you please, I am nevertheless a freeman; and yet I feel scarcely more free than I did twenty years ago, when I was working on Price's plantation. I felt then that I had as good a right to my freedom as the man who claimed me as his property, and, acting under this conviction, I started for the North. I could not help thinking, while abroad, of the treatment I had received in this country at the hands of the American people, and I asked myself, why is it that I can put up at one of the best hotels in Liverpool, or London, or Paris, or Rotterdam, and not in Philadelphia? Why is it that I can ride in the coach, or omnibus, or rail car, or steamboat, in Great Britain or on the continent, and enjoy the same privileges that any man enjoys, while I cannot do it here? It is not because of the color of my skin, but because of the influence of slavery. My daughters were kept out of school in the State of New York, and would have been brought up in ignorance in this country, and so I resolved to take them away from this liberty-loving land, and educate them under a monarchical government and institutions. They go abroad, and they are received and treated according to their merits, and not according to their color; and to-day one of them, the daughter of an American slave, teaches a school of Anglo Saxons, and the other is preparing herself, under another monarchical government, France, to follow the same employment. You talk about the despotism of Napoleon III., and yet your own countrymen, escaping from American despotism, can find protection under his throne. I could walk free and protected in any part of the kingdom of Great Britain, but I dared not set foot on American soil until some Southern scoundrel first received $300 for me. You have not a single foot of soil in all this republic on which I could have stood a year ago, and said I was a free man, though born and brought up here, and descended from ancestors who fought in the American Revolution for American liberty. I know there is oppression abroad. I am not blind to the fact, that in all the governments of Europe, there is more or less oppression; but before we talk of the oppression of other countries, let us look at our own; before you put out your hands to welcome the victims of foreign oppression, wash them clean, that the blood of the slave may not contaminate the hand of the foreigner. Before you boast of your freedom and Christianity, do your duty to your fellow-man.'

We give the following sketch of Mrs. Coe's speech made at the forenoon session on the second day:—

Mrs. EMMA R. COE, of Buffalo, said that she had sat in this meeting burthened with the sympathies of her nature until she could sit still no longer. Perhaps she had no words to utter that should claim their approbation, but she had out-gushings of emotion which she knew must meet with a response from this audience. From her youth, since she had first heard of slavery, she had regarded it as the darkest and most damning sin with which a nation or an individual could be concerned; and when a young bride, on perusing the first anti-slavery paper that was ever placed in her hands, could she then have seen an opening, she verily believed she should have left not only father, mother and friends, but husband, to go forth and preach salvation to humanity. But she saw no opening, and from her soul she envied those who were permitted to work in the cause. The friends engaged in it had gained a moral force and intellectual power which those who stood aloof, or were only engaged in collateral causes, were strangers to. Do what we will; pray as we may; have all faith—yea, faith that would move mountains; if we have not works to go with it, it is vain and fruitless. Let those who have an offering to lay upon this altar, bring it now.

It is said our country is *in peril*. Our country is *doomed*; it is LOST; it has passed the crisis; it is past salvation. Spread abroad these doctrines as you may, you cannot save the country. It is lost to all sense of self-respect, and every emotion of true feeling. When I see men like Edward Greeley Loring doing a hangman's deed on hangman's day—when I see him plucking out his heart, as it were, and laying it all warm and quivering at the feet of slavery—when I see a man who, heretofore, had been considered amiable, just and humane, for the paltry pittance of ten dollars, at the beck of slavery, with not even the excuse of proceeding according to law, but in violation of law and of the Constitution, even of the Fugitive Slave Law itself, what right have we to hope that there is salvation for this country? I tell you it will go down; there is no help but in a miracle.

Mrs. C. then proceeded to maintain that the two principles of freedom and slavery were to conflict in this country—slavery in two forms, one spiritual, in the shape of Papacy, and the other material, in the shape of Southern servitude; that they had an affinity for each other, and would combine their forces. She cited as facts, to prove her position, the calling out of the Irish military companies to put down the people of Boston, and the attempts of the Romanists to control the common schools, and the priests to control their church property.

I have often wondered, when listening to the eloquence of my colored friends, that their tones were not heart-broken—that they did not speak as if from a fountain of sorrows, whose waters were dried up. As I listened to my friend Brown, last evening, I thought of him parted from his mother, of her being driven to the rice swamps, perchance of his parting from brothers and sisters, and then of his standing before us free only by virtue of a little slip of paper acknowledging the receipt of three hundred dollars. The wonder is, that such men should not rise up and curse this nation as it has cursed them—only they are too Christian-like to do it. You admit the foreigner into your houses, while you dare not trust your silver in their presence, but put it under lock and key; but such men as William Wells Brown and Samuel R. Ward you expect to cower and crouch like dogs before you. I thank God there are some who never will do it, but will face the white man as an equal

I listened to Samuel R. Ward, three years ago, in Cincinnati, and there stood in that room white men who had called him a 'nigger,' as they passed him in the cars, and I rejoiced to see how he subdued that audience by the power of his eloquence. There sat men of towering intellect, who had achieved a high reputation at the bar, and yet no man's lips in that meeting seemed to be so touched with holy fire as those of Samuel R. Ward. And yet, we continue to put the brand of servitude and degradation upon such men, and treat them as anything but men. Oh, shame be to our country, and shame be to us, if we do not use the talents which God has given us so that if we cannot save our country, we may be the means of raising out of its ruins a grander superstructure, under which all classes and conditions of men and women, without regard to sex or color, may take shelter.

[The regular proceedings of the Society, up to the close of the forenoon session of the second day, were given in our last. We continue the report from that point, abridged from the *Standard*.]

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The question was taken on resolutions number 17, 18 and 19, [in reference to the influence of the press as an auxiliary to the anti-slavery cause, and commending the *A. S. Standard*,] which were under discussion in the morning, and they were adopted.

MARY GREW moved the consideration of the resolutions in relation to finance, (Nos. 21 and 22,) and made a strong appeal in their support.

J. M. McKIM and SUSAN B. ANTHONY followed with a few remarks.

At the suggestion of Mr. GARRISON, the consideration of the resolutions under discussion was postponed, and resolutions 5 and 6 were taken up, as follows:—

5. Resolved, That the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise are only the natural fruits of the poison tree of Slavery; that to complain of these fruits, while assiduously nourishing the tree itself, is the height of infatuation; that the work to be done is to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and cease not until it be cut down and given to the consuming fire.

6. Resolved, That any incidental or side issue with the Slave Power, in regard to its encroachments upon the rights and liberties of the North, or the violation of its plighted faith, or its further territorial extension, must inevitably result in utter defeat; that while the North continues in religious and political alliance with the South, Slavery will continue to lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes, laughing to scorn all opposition; that the dissolution of the American Union is the paramount question of the hour, and essential to the safety, innocency and prosperity of the North, and the speedy and universal triumph of the cause of Liberty.

Mr. GARRISON supported the resolutions in an able speech, which we regret that want of space obliges us entirely to omit—since no mere abstract could do it justice.

A brief discussion followed between Dr. MOYER, of Norristown, Mr. GARRISON, GEORGE SUNTER, and WM. THORNE, when LUCY STONE came forward, and addressed the audience as follows:—

Miss LUCY STONE: I cannot, for the life of me, understand the love of the Union which the voters of this country everywhere profess. If I were in a position where I could exercise the right of franchise, I am sure I could be no lover of this Union.— Why does any man north of Mason and Dixon's line wish to cling to a Union that only brings him disgrace and shame? A Union in which, if a Northern man dares in a particular latitude to utter sentiments of freedom, his life is endangered! A Union in which, if he finds a fellow-man south of a certain line with the yearnings of liberty in his breast, and helps to rescue him from the clutches of the worst of tyrants, he is not only branded as a traitor, but risks his own liberty and life. And yet, professed liberty-loving politicians cry out, let us cling to the Union! If we will smother all our holiest aspirations, stay quietly in our places and submit to slaveholding dictation, we may be in fellowship with this fraternity, and call it a Union. I do not know of any such Union. It is like the legal bondage of man and wife, who hate each other, and tear each other's eyes out. Southern members of Congress, with the flag of the Government waving over their heads, taunt Northern men with being their pliant tools. What is such a Union as that? An abolitionist is not tolerated at the South. It is true, I went into the State of Kentucky, and was not molested; but it was simply because of the gallantry and chivalry of the State towards a woman. They threaten in their newspapers that if abolition schoolmasters or pedlars come into the region where the Declaration of Independence emanated, they will enrich the soil with their blood. The South are glad to have us pay their post-office bills, and help them keep the slaves down, and, finding us ever ready to do their bidding, they threaten to bring their slaves under the very shadow of Bunker Hill monument. When Burns was seized in Boston, and the streets were crowded with earnest men, who were utterly powerless to save him, it was not the liberty of Anthony Burns alone, but also that of the people of Massachusetts, that was concerned. This is the kind of Union the South seeks.

But I know the hope that lives in the breasts of political abolitionists, that they will be able to do something by political action. The greatest part of them believe in doing a little evil that good may come. They do not consider that the adoption of such a principle debauches public confidence, until there can be no confidence between man and man. If you can do a little evil, tell a little bit of a lie, and swear to a little wrong to accomplish a great good, and others can do the same, where is there any faith in the integrity of man? Why cannot you trust God? I cannot comprehend this utter want of faith in God. We all know that when God established the great principles of truth and right, he consulted the human weal, and that the highest happiness must be found in conformity to truth and righteousness. We ought to feel the same confidence in trusting in God as the little child feels on the bosom of its mother. God, who sees the end from the beginning, has certainly made it safe for us to trust Him.

'We see dimly in the future what is small and what is great,
Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate.'

Our friend Moyer rejoices in the fact that so large a majority has been cast in Ohio, Pennsylvania and other States against the Nebraska iniquity. I could not help thinking, when I heard of the 80,000 majority in Ohio, that in that issue the voters of Ohio ignored the Fugitive Slave Law; they did not dare to say one word against that law when they brought the issue before the people. And with all their opposition to slavery in Kanzas, they have not a word to say about slavery in Carolina. The tendency of political action is to whittle a principle down to the smallest point, and then to whittle the point itself away. It must get a certain number of voters to accomplish a particular purpose, and so it leaves off every other issue that is just as vital to freedom. It takes the one that is nearest the popular level. There is now a popular cry against the Nebraska iniquity, and the politician takes it as an issue, and sweeps the whole board with it. Men who, in Congress, have not the courage to demand freedom for all, have no manhood that is worth being worn; they are down too deep in mud to get out upon *terra firma*.

It seems to me that the pecuniary loss, if nothing else, which the North is suffering by union with the South, ought to open its eyes. But that is by no means the greatest loss; it is the blinding of our moral sense. A man who steals is ordinarily rated a vile man, but not the man-thief; on the contrary, the patronage of the Government is oftener given to him than to others. I do think that if there ever was a time when we should demand a Northern Republic, it is now. It seems to me that under such a republic, the strength, wealth and growth of the North would spring forth beyond all precedent. Slavery has been consuming our wealth to support its poverty and aggrandize its pretensions. It seems very sad that the energy and resources of the North should be spent, in a great part, in keeping together a Union which is an everlasting disgrace, when we might have a Northern Republic that would be a model republic indeed, and not a subject of ridicule and scorn to Europeans. I see no glory nor beauty in this Union. I see what might be glorious and beautiful but for its being covered by these plague-spots, which are just as certain to cover the whole body, and annihilate the little liberty that is left you and me, as they are not removed. The power is in the hands of the South, and she rules us with a rod of iron. Slavery sets at nought the precepts of Jesus, and all the requirements of his religion.

I do not know but this Union will go to atoms, and despotism itself go down with it. I do not know but the American churches will go to ruin with it. I hope they all will; for with the ruin of the one and of the other, truth, which is imperishable, will remain. The idea that if the Church is destroyed, goodness will die with it, is a mistake. Goodness never can die, for it is a part of God. And when the crash shall come which shall rend this Union in twain, upon the basis of that ruin we shall rear a government which shall recognize the equal rights of humanity, irrespective of race or condition.

There are different opinions about the true interpretation of the Constitution, some very excellent people interpreting it in favor of freedom, and others in favor of slavery. An instrument that can by any possibility be construed in favor of slavery is not a safe thing to trust liberty to. It should be so perfectly clear, that the ingenuity of lawyers cannot give it the least bias in favor of slavery. The American Constitution has always been construed in favor of oppression, and that, if there were no other reason, is enough to condemn it. We need a revolution that shall shake it to pieces, and reproduce another unmistakably in favor of right—one that knows no sex, color, or condition. Let us, then, repudiate the present Constitution, and, early and late, in season and out of season, work for its overthrow. When I was in Kentucky, some lawyers said to me, 'We don't care much about voting abolitionists, because we believe they are just like other politicians, to be bought and sold; but the movement that Garrison has begun is one that has got hold of the conscience of the people.' They acknowledged that slavery was an evil, that it was a curse upon the State; but how are we going to get rid of it? they asked. I told them that men who tied up their own hands ought to be able to find out a way to untie them—that the same power that made the laws could unmake them. They asked what our method was. I said we were demanding the dissolution of the Union. 'If it makes you poor,' said I, 'and if you will keep your slavery, you must stagger alone under the dark curse.' 'Well,' said they, 'you are an abolitionist, and we respect you more for your frank avowal of it; Northerners generally deny being abolitionists when they come here.' I tell you the South feels afraid of this conscience of ours, and they tremble when they see it aroused. They see in it a power stronger than can be manifested by votes. They understand that this is a vantage ground where one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. Let us, then, make a common rallying cry of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

Adjourned till evening.

At the evening session, the hall was filled to overflowing, notwithstanding an admission fee of 12½ cents was charged. Able and eloquent speeches were made by Mrs. COE, LUCY STONE, and Mr. GARRISON, which were listened to with the deepest interest and manifest satisfaction.

THIRD DAY—CLOSING SESSION.

The Society met at 9½ o'clock. The resolutions under consideration were read.

CHANDLER DARLINGTON said that notwithstanding all the able arguments he had listened to against the rightfulness of voting, they had failed to convince him. He felt it his duty to sustain government in whatever was right, and to refuse to do so in what was wrong.

MARY GREW replied that the Society had never asserted a contrary principle, but, interpreting the Constitution as pro-slavery, they could not swear to support it.

Rev. Mr. BARNES expressed his views in regard to government, and said that any government that conflicted with the great idea of right which God had revealed to man was wrong. No government was justified in separating the rights of persons of the same blood of which God had created all nations. No legislature could make the Fugitive Slave Law right. He wished to see a firebrand thrown into the political parties, to break them up, and bring the Constitution where it ought to be. His heart was with the friends of the slave, and he prayed to God that they might accomplish the object presented in the resolutions.

GEORGE SUNTER insisted upon the necessity of personal responsibility, as opposed to organization, in the removal of human evils.

The question being taken on the resolutions under consideration, they were adopted. A few negative votes were given to resolution number 6.

The remainder of the resolutions were then taken up *seriatim*, discussed and adopted. Want of room compels us to omit all report of the discussion.

The Nominating Committee reported the following officers of the Society for the ensuing year, who were duly elected:—

President—JAMES MOTT.

Vice Presidents—EDWARD M. DAVIS, BENJAMIN C. BACON.

Corresponding Secretary—J. MILLER McKIM.

Recording Secretary—CLINTON GILLINGHAM.

Treasurer—SARAH PUGH.

Additional Members—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Cyrus M. Burleigh, Abby Kimber, Jacob Pierce, Margaret Jones, Howard W. Gilbert.

Mr. GARRISON submitted a few closing observations. He said that the success of their labors had been next to miraculous, in view of all the circumstances. They were as dust in the balance before this nation. Not many rich had been called to their side. As yet, it was mainly the poor of this world who were sympathizing with those who were still poorer than themselves. And yet, few as were their numbers and weak as were their resources, how true was it that one had chased a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight! Surely, the arm of God had been visible throughout. He believed their reliance had been solely on that arm. They did not look up to God as to an abstract being, but found him in the attributes of justice, humanity, love and universal brotherhood; and, taking these precious principles to their souls, they had God dwelling within them, and they in Him. And so their testimonies had been blessed and the nation quickened, and the cry of Humanity was now to the whole land, 'Sleep no more, until the chain be broken and the oppressed shall go free.' They had pledged themselves to renewed labors in the cause. It was a righteous movement, in which they who ran should not be weary, nor those who walked grow faint. Probably the same congregation would never again assemble here. But no matter whether their life be long or short, provided they used it well. Thank God for immortality!—that what was called death was simply a transition. He did not know that any here present would with their natural eyes see slavery abolished, but he saw it, and so did they, with the spiritual vision. They might not with the natural ear hear the song of jubilee, but they could with the spiritual ear. Looking forward to the end of this conflict, he saw the bastile of Slavery demolished, and heard the songs of the ransomed going up to God, like the sound of many waters. He saw peace restored to this distracted and guilty land, true liberty established, and the smile of God resting upon this and all the nations of the earth, for it was the cause of the whole world that they were advocating.

'Onward, then, ye fearless band,
Heart to heart and hand to hand;
Yours shall be the Christian's stand,
Or the martyr's grave.'

On motion, the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MICHIGAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We learn from the Ohio *Anti-Slavery Bugle* that the First Anniversary of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society was held at Adrian, Oct. 14th, 1854.

Jacob Walton, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair at the opening of the meeting, and Thomas Chandler was appointed Secretary, *pro tem*.

Among those present, who are well known to our New England readers, were CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, ANDREW T. FOSS, and JONATHAN WALKER. Also, CHARLES and JOSEPHINE GRIFFING, and JAMES BARNABY, of Ohio. There were several other speakers present, some of whom were the advocates of a political and sectarian anti-slavery; and under these circumstances, as may readily be supposed, the discussions were spirited, and the interest strong and deep. Three entire days were devoted to the meeting, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, and the interest appears to have continued unabated to the end. And from the spirit manifested, and the amount of light elicited in the debate, we anticipate the best result to our cause in the young and growing State of Michigan. May the labors of our trusty friends there be put forth with an undoubting faith, and meet with the most abundant and encouraging success. Where the seed of truth is thus faithfully sown, the Lord of the harvest never withholds his blessing.

The *Bugle* has an extended and very good report of the proceedings. We wish that space allowed us to give copious extracts from it. But it does not, and we must be content with a few comments of our own, made for the purpose of indicating the current of remark.

Mr. FOSS, in his first speech on Saturday, spoke of the influence of the church and clergy on the great question of human freedom. 'He could remember when three-fifths of the clergy defended slavery as a Bible institution. The number is smaller now, for the people will not bear the doctrine. At present, however, there are many who take this position, and they are men of the highest standing, while those who oppose Slavery as a sin are men of small influence in the church. He referred to Dr. Spring as an advocate of the rightfulness of slavery. He also read extracts from an anonymous pamphlet, understood to be written by Dr. Lord, President of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, a minister of great influence. The Dr. claims that slavery should be viewed in the light of Divine Revelation. The world, the Dr. says, is 'historically wicked,' and hence slavery is necessary to keep it from total depravity. He thinks slavery has aided the cause of religion as well as morality, that it is recognized and regulated in the word of God. The *abuse* of slavery he allows is wrong. But the slaveholder, who treats his slaves well, does all that God requires!'

Mr. FOSS proceeded to speak in detail of the course pursued by the *religious* press, by the Tract publishing societies, and by the different book and missionary organizations. In reply to an inquiry from Jonathan Walker, Mr. Foss showed how even the Wesleyans, the Free Will Baptists, the Free Mission Baptists, and the Quakers had, all of them, more or less, given countenance to slavery, or to its apologists and defenders.

Mr. GRIFFING pursued the same subject, and said, 'There is no Anti-Slavery sect in this country, unless it be the Old School Covenanters.'

Mr. WELLMAN denied the truth of what had been said about the Wesleyan Church. He said, 'If there are pro-slavery voters in the Church, they are there in spite of the discipline and against the rule.' He then turned upon the American Anti-Slavery Society, and charged, that 'That Society invites members of Pro-Slavery parties, Whigs and Democrats to join it, and allows them to go on in their Pro-Slavery work.'

C. C. BURLEIGH said, 'If the American Society did attempt or profess this, I would abjure that Society.' He went on to show the position, the method, and the aims of that Society.

In the evening, Mr. Bowman, of Williams Co., O., addressed the meeting. He said he had not before spoken in an Anniversary of any Anti-Slavery Society. For a long time, owing to his church connections, he was blinded to the true character of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but he wished now to identify himself with the radical Anti-Slavery movement. He was in favor of a free platform, where the advocate of slaveholding should be allowed to come forward and defend his system. Truth, he believed, was the greatest—the only liberator.

JAMES BARNABY spoke on the Progress of the Cause.

On Sunday morning, SAMUEL D. MOORE addressed the meeting. He argued that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is emphatically a Christian movement; and that whatever passes for religion, yet does not advance the cause of freedom and humanity, should be repudiated as spurious Christianity and false religion.

A. T. FOSS next addressed the Convention, directing his remarks mainly to the subject of the fifth resolution. He spoke of the U. S. Constitution, as connected with and sustaining Slavery; showing that the Slave Power in the framing of the Constitution had its will, in enacting in that instrument guarantees, without which the hateful system of slavery could not have lived, and by the aid of which it has been enabled to grow with the growth and strengthen with the strength of the nation.

The question, whether the people of this country are or are not bound by their Constitution to return fugitive slaves, (or allow of their seizure,) and to do and allow other pro-slavery work, seems to have occupied the greater part of the day. In the evening, C. C. BURLEIGH said a question had been sent him, with the request that he should answer it. The question was, 'If a person is right on the subject of American Slavery, may he be considered right upon all subjects?' Mr. Burleigh said he thought this question had been answered yesterday. As Abolitionists, we have a specific object to accomplish. Of course, men may be right in this, and wrong in many other respects; though, in this generation, the man who is an Abolitionist is more likely than others to occupy a right position in regard to other reforms. Indeed, if we could be perfectly consistent in anti-slavery, or in any work of humanity, we should be prepared for all works of humanity; for all that the great and good have desired and toiled to accomplish; for the consummation of all we long for, the coming of that day when 'violence shall no more be heard in the land, nor wasting nor destruction within our borders.' The fundamental principle of anti-slavery is the fundamental principle of all moral truth, that 'God is our father, and all men are brethren.'

On Monday morning, Mr. LOURIE, of Saline, replied to C. C. Burleigh's remarks on Sunday, and claimed that the U. S. Constitution is anti-slavery.

C. C. BURLEIGH said he would be glad to be convinced that the Constitution is anti-slavery, and if his friend could convert the United States Court, President Pierce, and the Nation, to his doctrine, a monument should be erected to his memory.

The Financial Committee reported collections and donations amounting to $274.

The following were chosen officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—

President—CYRUS FULLER, Plymouth.

Vice-Presidents—Joseph Merrill, Battle Creek, Maria Day, Hickory Grove, Abraham Power, Farmington, C. E. Mickley, Fairfield, J. H. Parker, Racine.

Recording Secretary—Eliphalet Jones, Adrian.

Corresponding Secretary—Jacob Walton, Adrian.

Treasurer—Samuel Hayball, Adrian.

Executive Committee—Edwin Comstock, Adrian, William Ward, Adrian, Thomas Chandler, Adrian, Frances S. Mott, Hickory Grove, Ann Hayball, Adrian.

MRS. E. OAKES SMITH says, in a private letter, that she shall be in Boston next week, for the purpose of giving one or more lectures; one upon Margaret Fuller. As a speaker, Mrs. Smith unites with clear perception and argumentative power, a rich poetic diction, and a graceful delivery. Gifted, and all in earnest as she is, there is no advocate of the cause of woman in this country who can use either tongue or pen more effectively than she. No friend of Human Progress should lose this opportunity of hearing her.

ARRESTS IN WORCESTER.

We learned on Wednesday A. M., by telegraph, that several arrests of alleged rioters (in the late Butman case) have been made, and that STEPHEN S. FOSTER, having refused to be bailed, was confined in the county jail. We have no further particulars, but from our previous information we do not believe that even under their own infamous enactments any sufficient ground can be found for Mr. Foster's arrest; and we do not doubt that it will soon appear that his prosecutors have been too fast in the case, and have rendered themselves liable for false imprisonment.—M.

P. S. Later and more particular accounts from Worcester inform us that on Tuesday afternoon, Messrs. Stephen S. Foster, Joseph A. Howland, Edwin Moody, A. Hemmenway, and Adin Thayer were arrested on a charge of riot, and taken before Justice Green of the Police Court. All gave bail, with the exception of Mr. Foster. He refused, and was literally *carried* to jail by four officers, to remain until the 15th, when a trial is to take place. 'It is the opinion of most people,' writes to us a very reliable man in Worcester, 'that the Hunker Whigs have caused the arrests.' The false and scurrilous articles in the Whig papers of Worcester confirm this opinion. 'You will see,' writes the same friend, 'that Messrs. Foster and the others were required to give bonds to the amount of One Thousand Dollars, while Butman, the kidnapper, was required to recognize to the amount of One Hundred Dollars only! Of course, it is unnecessary to say that the Judge before whom they were brought is a Hunker Democrat.'

The Anti-Slavery meeting at Worcester next Sunday evening, being the fifth or sixth in a course which S. S. Foster has been holding in that city, will not be omitted on account of his imprisonment. Other speakers will be present, and a great meeting will undoubtedly be had.

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS IN BOSTON.

In the *Court of Common Pleas*, before Judge Perkins, Tuesday, Oct. 31, the case of Edward H. Pindall, by his next friend, *vs.* the City of Boston, was tried. This was an action brought in behalf of the plaintiff, a minor, by his father, Wm. T. Pindall, against the city, for ejection from a school on the ground that he is a colored person, and the damage laid is $500. In the month of August, 1853, Mr. Pindall, who is a white man, or so nearly so as to pass for such, applied to Mr. Andrew Cushing, Chairman of the Committee of Primary School District No. 9, for the admission of his son, (who is about five or six years old, and nearly white,) into the Primary School in Southac street, near his residence. The father was so light colored that no suspicion of colored blood in his veins was raised in the mind of the committee-man, and the required permission was granted.

The child went to school about two weeks, when Mr. Cushing wrote a note to the father, giving notice of the dismissal of the child from school, on account of its color, and conveying the information that he would be received at a colored school in Belknap street. The boy was sent to the school-house the next morning, but the mistress, Miss Turner, refused to allow him to remain, for the reason assigned above. The father, instead of sending his boy to school in Belknap street, brought an action against the city, Robert Morris, Jr., Esq., appearing for the plaintiff, and Hon. George S. Hillard for the city. The question to be settled was, whether the boy was sufficiently 'colored' to come within the rule of the Supreme Court, that the city of Boston has a right to provide separate schools for colored children. Evidence was introduced to show that the parents of Mr. Pindall were both white, but that the mother of the boy was a light-colored mulatto woman. Drs. Clark and Stedman examined the boy, and testified that in their opinion he was of one-sixth or one-eighth African blood, but were not positive that he was not of Spanish blood. The Court instructed the jury in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Roberts, that the School Committee may establish separate schools, and that the question rested solely upon the evidence of color. This morning, the jury returned a verdict in favor of the city. We learn that Mr. Morris intends to move for a new trial, on two grounds—first, that the verdict was against the law and evidence; second, on account of exceptions to the ruling of the Court, in effect that the jury must be satisfied from the *evidence*, rather than the personal appearance, that the child is of African descent.

In connection with the above report, the *Telegraph* says—

'We record with pleasure that Mr. Hillard, City Solicitor, while defending the cause of the city, had the frankness and magnanimity to say, that he believed the law in question an unjust one. Some months ago, Alderman Williams made an excellent report to the Board on this subject, recommending the School Committee to take action towards the abolition of colored schools. We trust it will not be long before this suggestion is acted upon favorably.'

Some years since, when this question was discussed by the School Committee, the names of George S. Hillard and John T. Sargent stood alone in favor of the admission of colored children to the schools in their several wards; since which time, a gradual change has been perceptible; the cause has gained many new adherents; presaging to the persevering a coming victory—though not so speedily as the outraged parties continually pray for.

Whatever may be the result of this pending trial, it but affects the one individual, or, perhaps, the few others who can pass the examination of a skin-scanning committee; but it is absolutely of no advantage in establishing the principle that all children, of whatever complexion, are equals before the law.

What a commentary on the free institutions of Puritan New England does such a spectacle present! When the child of a tax-paying citizen knocks at the door of a public school for admission, the consent is held in abeyance until the scales of colorphobia determine whether, in the 'estimation of a hair,' his rights to common-school instruction may not have been confiscated. To this complexion of things has Boston come at last. But there is a remedy. Let a general feeling pervade the friends of Human Progress, that Boston should no longer resist the glorious example of all other cities and towns in the Bay State, but that, like them, no child within her precincts shall be debarred, by reason of accidental differences, from equal school rights; and let this feeling be manifested by numerous signatures to the following petition for presentation to the next General Court, and this stigma upon the fair fame of our city will speedily be removed:—

The undersigned, inhabitants of ———, respectfully request the Legislature to provide, by due legislation, some efficient means to prevent the colored children of Boston from being deprived of the equal privileges of the common schools of that city.

Let us take advantage of the times, and weary not in well-doing. In a cause like ours, 'there is no such word as fail.'

Boston, Nov., 1854. W. C. N.

The *Herald* reports from the late quarterly meeting of the Grammar School Board, that the Smith School is in bad condition—but little progress, slim attendance and bad discipline are its characteristics. There are eighty scholars belonging to the school, and only thirty-four attended the examination, some of them being restricted from attendance by the prevalence of small pox in the neighborhood.

☞ Mrs. C. I. H. NICHOLS, (late editor of the Brattleboro' (Vt.) *Democrat*, and widely known as an active and efficient advocate of Woman's Rights,) in a letter to the Boston *Telegraph*, dated 'St. Louis, Oct. 23d,' thus speaks of the character of the Eastern emigration to the new Territory:—

'In reference to the general character of the emigrants, I can say to those who ask, who are to be their companions in the settlement of Kanzas, if they follow us—I am pleased with the intelligence and spirit which they evince. Freedom's host in the free States may rely on them at their chosen post of duty. For myself, I shall be content, (after arrangements are made to shelter my beloved ones,) to gather up my all and return to Kanzas. So far as the quality of the emigration from New England is concerned, I hear nothing and see nothing as yet, to disappoint the highest expectations which I had formed from available information at home.'

This testimony to the character of the emigrants is very gratifying, and justly deserved.

OPENING OF THE LYCEUM.—*Mr. Phillips' Lecture.* A very large audience was assembled at City Hall on Tuesday evening to listen to the introductory lecture by Wendell Phillips, Esq. We do not intend, this winter, to resume our former practice of giving connected reports of the lectures. The lecture itself is a condensation of the speaker's reading experience and thoughts into the small compass in which it can be packed away, and to further compress into the column of a daily paper is to do great injustice to both the readers and speaker.

Mr. Phillips' subject was 'Street Life in the Old World.' He suggested from obvious points in the familiar and daily life of continental streets the characteristic differences between the Yankees and the European. He drew comparisons between the two, not always to our advantage, and gave, as no one has a better right to give, some pointed lessons for a thoughtful consideration.

The leading trait of Mr. Phillips' mind seems to be impartiality. He has removed himself from sectional and class prejudices. He has for many years stood apart in a calm and scholarly atmosphere, until his judgment is something freed from the interferences of time and place, and he views his own country and countrymen, with patriotic love it is true, but also with a clear and cosmopolitan sense of their faults. Perhaps there is hardly a man in New England who has a richer armory of facts and acquirements upon which to draw for the array of a controversy, and the ornaments of table-talk. Great practice in the art of public speaking has given him an almost unequalled readiness, and his extempore sentences come forth as round and polished as if prepared in the retirement of the closet. His lectures are not written out; they are preserved only in his retentive and well-ordered memory. This gives something of the charm of conversation to his easy periods, and in listening to him, one gains some little insight into the secret of the fascination exercised by the great masters of monologue, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Hazlitt.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

CERTIFICATES OF CHARACTER. Several firms in Boston, we learn from a reliable source, do not employ a new clerk, unless he can show a certificate of fitness and faithfulness from Mr. D. P. Butler, the accurate phrenologist, of Fowlers, Wells & Co's establishment, 142 Washington street. Clerks selected by this method seldom turn out blunderers, and never plunderers. It is easy to foresee that a wide application is destined to be made of phrenology, in fixing upon honest and capable men for places of trust, as well as pointing out the path of their best usefulness and success to the young, who have to depend upon their own exertions. Were some such test applied to Railroad and Bank officers, the business world would not be liable to such panics as attended the recent Schuyler and Crane frauds; and were Congressmen chosen on the ground of moral and intellectual 'developments,' instead of party 'availability,' the era of corrupt and sectional legislation would come to a speedy end.

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR FOR 1854.

The National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will open on WEDNESDAY, the 20th of December next.

We have been so fortunate as to secure for its accommodation the two very beautiful and convenient halls communicating with each other, just finished in Winter street.

The foreign contributions promise to be more elegant and abundant than on any previous occasion. Costly and rare collections have arrived, or are on the way, from Great Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland.

While the friends of the slave abroad are thus lavish of time, money and effort, the Committee feel it their duty to appeal to his friends in this country, for the purpose of urging upon them a greater amount of labor, and larger donations. Let us strive in some measure to emulate the self-sacrifice and devotion of our more distant fellow-laborers, and not, while calling ourselves the slave's friends, sit idly by, and allow his chief help to come from those who are summoned to their work of charity only by their recognition of the sublime doctrine that their country is the world, and their countrymen all mankind. Let us not disregard the additional responsibilities that pertain to position and nationality.

Suffer us to present a few practical suggestions. We would call upon ladies at home for large contributions of *useful articles*; all kinds of fine needle-work for ladies' and children's wear, gentlemen's dressing-gowns, shirts, collars and hosiery, are greatly in demand. There is no danger that the supply will be too large, or that the articles will be sold at a sacrifice, as from the goods that remain, we are enabled to furnish assistance to many other Fairs held for the benefit of the common cause. Any donations of books, china, furniture, in fine, any articles that will command a sale, will be thankfully received.

Such towns and individuals as find it more convenient to make their contributions in money, are requested to forward them to the committee before or at the time of the Bazaar. Aid of this kind is of course equally acceptable, and though counted with the receipts of the Fair, will be particularly acknowledged in the Bazaar's Report. Were one-third of the towns only, throughout New England, and the State of New York, represented ever so imperfectly on the coming occasion, how large and influential would be the means placed at the disposal of the A. S. Society now, in this very crisis hour of the country's destiny!

Any communications for the Bazaar Committee may be addressed to 138 Nassau street, New York, or to 21 Cornhill, Boston. For the Committee,

A. W. WESTON.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

LECTURES ON SLAVERY.

This course of Lectures will be delivered in the TREMONT TEMPLE, at 7½ o'clock, on THURSDAY EVENINGS, in the order indicated in the following list:—

Nov. 23. { Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, Rev. JOHN PIERPONT, Poem.
Dec. 7. Hon. SALMON P. CHASE, of Ohio.
Dec. 14. Hon. ANSON BURLINGAME.
Dec. 21. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.
Dec. 28. CASSIUS M. CLAY, Esq., of Ky.
Jan. 4. Hon. HORACE GREELEY.
Jan. 11. Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER.
Jan. 18. Hon. JOHN P. HALE.
Jan. 25. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Esq.
Feb. 8. Hon. NATHANIEL P. BANKS, Jr.
Feb. 15. Hon. LEWIS D. CAMPBELL, of Ohio.
Feb. 22. Hon. SAMUEL HOUSTON, of Texas.
Mar. 1. Hon. DAVID WILMOT, of Pa.
Mar. 8. Hon. CHARLES W. UPHAM.

Organist—Mr. JOHN H. WILLCOX.

Thirteen of the lecturers having engaged themselves to the Committee, and the others, Messrs. Houston and Campbell, having, by their letters, given strong reason to hope for their appearance, there is great confidence that there will be no failure.

Tickets, at $3.00 each, admitting a lady and gentleman, can be obtained at Ticknor & Co.'s, 135, and Jewett & Co.'s, 117, Washington street.

☞ No single tickets will be sold.

SAMUEL G. HOWE,
Oct. 20 tf *Chairman Lecture Committee.*

☞ WILLIAM W. BROWN, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will attend meetings as follows:—

Providence, R. I., Sunday, Nov. 12.
Diamond Hill Plain, Tuesday, " 14.

☞ REV. N. R. JOHNSTON will deliver an Anti-Slavery discourse, next Sabbath evening, at 7 o'clock, in Cochituate Hall, Phillips Place, off Tremont street. Subject: Power on the side of the Oppressor.

☞ TO ANTI-SLAVERY BUSINESS MEN. A colored young man desires a situation as Book-keeper. He has testimonials to his ability and character which should at once secure him a lucrative position.

Apply to WM. C. NELL,
Oct. 14. 21 Cornhill.

☞ SITUATION WANTED, for writing or collecting, by a young man of fine attainments, who comes well recommended.

DIED—In this city, Sept. 24, BENJAMIN PAUL BASSETT, aged 43.

In Cambridgeport, Oct. 23, BENJAMIN WEEDEN SNOWDEN, aged 21.

IDA MAY;

A STORY OF THINGS ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE.

BY MARY LANGDON.

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POETRY.

PILGRIM'S SONG IN THE DESERT.

'Tis morning now—upon the eastern hills
Once more the sun lights up this cheerless scene;
But, Oh! no morning in my Father's house
Is dawning now, for there no night hath been.

Ten thousand thousand now, on Zion's hills,
All robed in white, with palmy crowns, do stray,
While I, an exile, far from father-land,
Still wander, faint, along the desert way.

O home, dear home, my own, my native home!
O Father, friends, when shall I look on you—
When shall these weary wanderings be o'er,
And I be gathered back to stray no more!

O Thou, the brightness of whose gracious face
These weary, longing eyes have never seen—
By whose dear thought, for whose beloved sake,
My course, through toil and tears, I daily take!

I think of Thee, when the myrrh-dropping morn
Steps forth upon the purple eastern steep;
I think of Thee, in the fair even-tide,
When the bright sandaled stars their watches keep.

And trembling hope, and fainting, sorrowing love,
On thy dear word for comfort doth rely,
And clear-eyed faith, with strong, fore-reaching gaze,
Beholds Thee here, unseen, but ever nigh.

Walking in white with Thee, she dimly sees,
All beautiful, those lovely ones withdrawn,
With whom my heart went upward, as they rose,
Like morning stars, to light a coming dawn.

All sinless now, and crowned and glorified,
Where'er thou movest, move they still with Thee,
As erst, in sweet communion by thy side,
Walked John and Mary, in old Galilee.

But hush my heart! 'tis but a day or two
Divides thee from that bright immortal shore;
Rise up! rise up! and gird thee for the race!
Fast fly the hours, and all will soon be o'er.

Thou hast the new name written in thy soul;
Thou hast the mystic stone he gives his own;
Thy soul, made one with him, shall feel no more
That she is walking on her path alone.

Andover, Oct., 1854. H. B. S.

From the Dublin University Magazine.

BEYOND THE RIVER.

Time is a river, deep and wide,
And while along its banks we stray,
We see our loved ones o'er its tide
Sail from our sight away, away.
Where are they sped—they who return
No more to glad our longing eyes?
They've passed from life's contracted bourne,
To land unseen, unknown, that lies
Beyond the river.

'Tis hid from view; but we may guess
How beautiful that realm must be;
For gleamings of its loveliness,
In visions granted, oft we see.
The very clouds that o'er it throw
Their veil, unraised for mortal sight,
With gold and purple tintings glow,
Reflected from the glorious light
Beyond the river.

And gentle airs, so sweet, so calm,
Steal sometimes from that viewless sphere;
The mourner feels their breath of balm,
And soothed sorrow dries the tear.
And sometimes list'ning ear may gain
Entrancing sound that hither floats;
The echo of a distant strain,
Of harps and voices blending notes,
Beyond the river.

There are our loved ones in their rest;
They've crossed Time's River—now no more
They heed the bubbles on its breast,
Nor feel the storms that sweep its shore;—
But *there* pure love can live, can last—
They look for *us* their home to share;
When we in turn away have passed,
What joyful greetings wait us *there*,
Beyond the river!

AN ENCHANTED ISLAND.

A wonderful stream is the river Time,
As it runs through the realms of tears,
With a faultless rhythm, and a musical rhyme,
And a broader sweep, and a surge sublime,
And blends with the ocean of years.

There's a musical Isle up the river Time,
Where the softest of airs are playing;
There's a cloudless sky and a tropical clime,
And a song as sweet as a vesper chime,
And the tunes with the roses are staying.

And the name of that Isle is the Long Ago,
And we bury our treasures there;
There are brows of beauty, and bosoms of snow;
There are heaps of dust, but we love them so!
There are trinkets, and tresses of hair.

There are fragments of song that nobody sings,
And a part of an infant's prayer;
There's a lute unswept, and a harp without strings;
There are broken vows, and pieces of rings,
And the garment she used to wear.

There are hands that are waved when the fairy shore
By the mirage is lifted in air;
And we sometimes hear, through the turbulent roar,
Sweet voices we heard in the days gone before,
When the wind down the river is fair.

O, remembered for aye be the blessed isle,
All the day of our life until night;
And when evening comes, with its beautiful smile,
And our eyes are closing to slumber awhile,
May that 'greenwood' of soul be in sight.

SOME GOOD IN ALL.

In every breast there is a well of feeling,
Whose depths are moved at an appointed time,
Disclosing precious jewels, and revealing,
Love, Hope and Faith, or Energy sublime.

The heart of every sinful man containeth
A hallowed spot, as pure as childhood's dream,
Which, 'mid the poison round it, still retaineth
Some crystal drop from Truth's eternal stream.

The tear of penitence, the sigh of sorrow,
The agony of soul for life mis-spent,
The promise of improvement for the morrow,
Are all to Heaven on Mercy's pinions sent.

The heart beneath a smiling mask may smother
Its anguish, though by fiercest trials torn;
Then judge not harshly of thy erring brother,
God only knows the sorrows he has borne.

SONNET.

TO A FRIEND, WHO ASKED ME HOW I FELT WHEN THE NURSE FIRST PRESENTED MY INFANT TO ME.

Charles! my slow heart was only sad, when first
I scanned that face of feeble infancy;
For dimly in my thoughtful spirit burst
All I had been, and all my babe might be!
But when I saw it on its mother's arm,
And hanging at her bosom, (she the while
Bent o'er its features with a tearful smile,)
Then I was thrilled and melted, and most warm
Impressed a father's kiss: and, all beguiled
Of dark remembrance, and presageful fear,
I seemed to see an angel's form appear—
'Twas even thine, beloved woman mild!
So for the mother's sake the child was dear,
And dearer was the mother for the child.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Correspondence of the London Times.

THE HORRORS OF WAR.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Sept. 28.—It is impossible for any one to see the melancholy sights of the last few days without feelings of surprise and indignation at the deficiencies of our medical system. The manner in which the sick and wounded have been treated is worthy only of the savages of Dahomey. The sufferings on board the Vulcan were bad enough. There were 300 wounded and 170 cholera patients, and these were attended by four surgeons. The scene is described as terrible. The wounded seized the surgeons by the skirts, as they picked their way through the heaps of dying and dead, but the surgeons shook them off. It may be expected, and perhaps was right, that the officers should receive the principal attention, and they possibly required the almost undivided labor of our men; but some one must be in fault when large bodies of wounded men are put on board a ship with no one to give them surgical assistance, or even supply their necessary wants. Numbers arrived at Scutari without having been touched by a surgeon since they fell pierced by Russian bullets on the slopes of the Alma. Their wounds were stiff and their strength exhausted, as they were lifted out of the boats to be carried to the hospital, where, fortunately, surgical aid may be obtained.

But all other horrors sink into insignificance compared with the state of the unfortunate passengers by the Colombo. This vessel left the Crimea on the morning of the 24th. Wounded men were placed on board for two days before she sailed, and when she weighed anchor, she carried the following numbers:—27 wounded officers, 422 wounded soldiers, 104 Russian prisoners—in all, 453 souls. About half of the wounded had received surgical assistance before they were placed on board. To supply the wants of this mass of misery were four medical men, one of whom was the surgeon of the ship—sufficiently employed in looking after the crew, who, at this place and season, are seldom free from sickness. The ship was literally covered with prostrate forms, so as to be almost unmanageable. The officers could not get below to find their sextants, and the run was made at hazard.

The vessel was at sea twelve hours longer through this mischance. The worst cases were placed on the upper deck, which in a day or two became a mass of puridity. The neglected gunshot wounds bred maggots, which crawled in every direction, infecting the food of the unhappy beings on board. The putrid animal matter caused such a stench that the officers and crew were nearly overcome, and the captain is now ill from the effects of five days' misery. All the blankets, to the number of 1,500, have been thrown overboard as useless. Thirty men died during the voyage. The surgeons worked as hard as possible, but could do little among so many, and many an unfortunate fellow first came under a medical man's hand on his arrival at Scutari, six days after the battle. It is an ungracious task to find fault and to speak of the shortcomings of men who do their utmost, but an unfortunate neglect has occurred since the arrival of the steamer. Forty-six men have been left on board for two days, when, by some extra exertion, they might have been safely placed in the hospital. The vessel is quite putrid, but a large number of men will be immediately employed to clean and fumigate her, and thus avoid the danger of typhus, which generally arises in such conditions. Two transports were towed by the Colombo, and their state was nearly as bad.

THE FIRST MAN I KILLED.

A young English sailor, on the verge of the Black Sea, gives an account of a skirmish in which he was engaged with a party of Russians, one of whom he shot. It shows how dreadful is war—how opposed it is to the sensibilities of our nature. In writing home to his friends, the generous young sailor said:—

'We dispersed a few hundred yards distant from the beach, to keep the coast clear while the boat's crew made prizes of the guns. The enemy had the advantage of the wood, and also knowing the country well, and a troop of them showed in advance. We were ordered to fire. I took steady aim, and fired on my man at about sixty yards. He fell like a stone. At the same time, a broadside from the ——— went in among the trees, and the enemy disappeared, we could scarcely tell how. I felt as though I must go up to *him*, to see whether he was dead or alive. He lay quite still, and I was more afraid of him lying so, than when he stood facing me, a few minutes before. It is a strange feeling to come over you all at once, that you have killed a man. He had unbottoned his jacket, and was pressing his hand over the front of his chest, where the wound was. He breathed hard, and the blood poured from the wound, and also from his mouth, every breath he took. His face was as white as death, and his eyes looked so bifi and bright as he turned them and stared at me: I shall never forget it. He was a fine young fellow, not more than five-and-twenty. I went down on my knees beside him, and my breast felt so full, as though my own heart would burst. He had a real English face, and did not look like an enemy. What I felt, I never can tell; but if my life would have saved his, I believe I should have given it. I laid his head on my knee, and he grasped hold of my hand and tried to speak, but his voice was gone. I could not tell a word he said, and every time he tried to speak, the blood poured out so that I knew it would soon be over. I am not ashamed to say that I was worse than he; for he never shed a tear, and I couldn't help it. His eyes were closing, when a gun was fired from the ———, to order us aboard, and that roused him. He pointed to the beach, where the boat was just pushing off with the guns which we had taken, and where our marines were waiting to man the second boat, and then he pointed to the wood, where the enemy was concealed. Poor fellow! he little thought how I had shot him down. I was wondering how I could leave him to die, and no one near him, when he had something like a convulsion for a moment, and then his face rolled over, and with a sigh he was gone. I trust the Almighty has received his soul. I laid his head gently down on the grass, and left him. It seemed so strange when I looked at him for the last time. I somehow thought of every thing I had heard about the Turks and Russians, and the rest of them; but *all that* seemed so *far off*, and the dead man *so near!*'

From the Providence Daily Tribune.

THE BLACK SWAN—AND SO FORTH.

Miss E. T. Greenfield is a woman of fame. She has sung in all the principal cities of our country, if we mistake not, within the last five or six years. Certainly, she has sung in most of the Northern cities, and in some of the cities of the old world also. She sings beautifully. Her voice is of great power and 'compass,' and surpassingly sweet, also. Probably we have not upon our soil another American-born lady so gifted in musical powers. True, we do not like and cannot appreciate the kind of singing with which Miss Greenfield favors her audiences. We don't like the screaming part; and, for our life and soul, we can't like it. But we have learnt, by patiently listening, that all this screaming and caterwauling is an effort to *do something*, and we will do Miss Greenfield the justice to say that *she does it*. She displays, in a remarkable degree, the almost superhuman power of a naturally powerful and well-educated voice. She sung in our city on Monday evening; and we are not sure that our people have listened to sweeter music than she gave us since Jenny Lind was here. Every body said it was good, and the lovers of screaming pronounced it heavenly. We guess it was earthly, but decidedly *up*. She sings to us again, her agent informs us, one of these days.

Well—Miss E. T. Greenfield is the 'Black Swan'—the Black Swan, as the boys would say, and nothing shorter. She is, in other words, a colored lady—or, if you please, a nigger—a female nigger woman, with African hair, eyes, lips, nose, &c. She is not the worse for that, but sings just as sweetly, and ought to be respected as highly, as though she were as white as a snow-flake, and as pretty as a Peacedale shawl. Why not?

But we don't like this Black Swan; and we happen to be in the mood to give our reasons for not liking her, if we can give them in our own way.

Miss Greenfield is African in blood, and was formerly a slave. She was born in Natchez, Mississippi. Her mistress carried her to Philadelphia, and dying, left her there in a state of freedom. Her musical talent was cultivated, and she became the wonder of the New World.

Does she remember her former state—the pit from which she was digged? Not a bit of it. Does she tune her sweet voice to sing of freedom? Seldom does she paint the sorrows of slavery—its cruelties, its tortures, its barbarities! We never heard of it. Does she sing to her own down-trodden race, or in any way try to elevate them? No.

She sings to the fashionables, and turns up her nigger nose to every thing that does not smell of exclusiveness. She shuts her doors to the poor, and only asks patronage of wealth. She don't associate with niggers. While the Hutchinsons sing the songs of freedom, and charge twenty-five or twelve and a half cents for a single admission, she screeches from *Robert le Diable*, 'Robert, tol que j'aime.' Here and there she will squeeze in a 'Slave Song'—a sort of pathetic ballad, without any back-bone in it; or, likely enough, a song of freedom, *in the abstract*, so delicately finished as to be mistaken for a dream. And for admission to the hall, she charges *fifty cents*. Just enough to let in the aristocracy, and keep out the slave's friends.

We don't deny that this is a fair business transaction. Miss Greenfield has a perfect right to charge fifty cents per ticket to her concerts, if she wants to. As a business affair, it is none of our business. But one can't help his thoughts; and we can't help thinking, that if Miss Greenfield would try less to please the lovers of screeching, (who, after all, care as little about her as they do for a last year's almanac,) and more to interest and elevate her own race, and the common people of the white race, she would show a degree of sound sense which every body could applaud and nobody condemn. If she would charge twenty-five cents admission fee, and sing songs of freedom, she would have much larger audiences—could put more real music into her voice—please a class of people who are worth pleasing—help on the cause of freedom—and become a blessing to her own and all future generations.

But she won't do it; and we shall not waste much breath in urging her to. She likes 'high life,' and will continue to belittle herself in the estimation of all sensible people, by courting the applause of the aristocracy. We shall not cry about it. But it is our privilege to speak our thoughts on the subject—and we have *spoke 'em*. If Miss Greenfield don't like it, we can't help it.

THE BEECHERS.

The following passage occurs in the October number of the *North American Review*, in a notice of Mrs. Stowe's 'Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands':—

'The Beecher family almost constitute a genus by themselves. The same type of mind and style is reproduced in the writings of the venerable father and of his singularly-gifted children, though stiffening into a certain solemn stateliness in the author of "The Conflict of Ages," and in Henry Ward, trenching close upon the dividing line between licit humor and lithe buffoonery. The father, in his palmy days, was unequalled among living divines for dialectic keenness, scathing invective, pungent appeal, lambent wit, hardy vigor of thought, and concentrated power of expression; but he always fumbled over an extra-Scriptural metaphor, and exhibited little beauty except that of strength and holiness,—a beauty that never shone from him so resplendently as now, that, on the verge of fourscore, it hallows the sunset of as noble a life as man ever led, and presages the dawning of a renewed youth in a more exalted sphere of the Divine service. His daughter inherits in full his vigor of conception, his logical acumen, his tenacious hold upon the conscience, his fervent strenuousness of aim, and his wit subordinated to and sanctified by the gravest purpose and the most momentous mission; while in the handling of subsidiary thoughts and in rhetorical ornament, she alternates between his unconscious heedlessness and her own finer perception and more graceful culture.'

FEMALE MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

Like those designed for the professional education of the sterner sex, the new colleges for females are making ample preparations for the autumnal lectures. It is an item of historical interest, which in after times will appear far more prominent and remarkable than at present, that the community both sympathize with and give support to these newly-developed institutions.—money is beginning to flow in upon them, as it always does upon favorite objects of a public nature in this country. Bequests will probably hereafter be made, professorships endowed, and ample funds provided for giving female medical schools all the character which accumulated wealth, talent and science can bestow. Women have brains, and when cultivated, show themselves, in many circumstances and conditions, equal to those who are technically denominated their lords and masters. At all events, they will now have an opportunity for demonstrating what they can do in the field of practical medicine; and if some of them occasionally fall short of the high expectations of their friends, it will be no killing affair, since men also frequently disappoint the world in the same line of labor. We wish success to the female medical schools, and prosperity to the fair pupils.—*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

A NEGRO CALCULATING BOY.

At the United States Hotel, a short time since, was stopping a colored boy, named William Marcey, whose extraordinary mathematical powers have greatly astonished all who have witnessed his demonstrations. He will add up columns of figures any length, divide any given sum, multiply millions by thousands, within five minutes of the time the figures are given to him, and with such exactness as to render it truly wonderful. Yesterday noon, in presence of a party of gentlemen, he added a column of figures eight in line, and 108 lines, making the sum total of several millions, in about six minutes. The feat was so astounding, and apparently incredible, that several of the party took off their coats, and, dividing the sum, went to work, and in two hours after they commenced, produced identically the same answer. The boy is not quite seventeen years of age; he cannot read nor write, and in every other branch of an English education is entirely deficient. His parents reside in Kentucky, near Louisville.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

A SITUATION VACANT.

Some years ago, a black man called on a clergyman in Western New York, avowed himself a fugitive slave, and asked for food and shelter, which was freely accorded. Two or three persons being cognizant of the fact, called in to see the 'runaway nigger,' when the following dialogue ensued:—

'S'pose you had pretty hard times down South—lickings a plenty!'

'No—I never was whipped.'

'Wasn't!—well, you had to work awful hard!'

'My work was very light.'

'Guess your clothes wan't very nice!'

'I was always well dressed—I was a house servant.'

'Reckon your victuals wasn't uncommon fine!'

'As good as I desired.'

'Well! I should give it as my opinion, that you was a mighty big fool for running away from such a place as this, just for the sake of shirking for yourself.'

'Gentlemen! my place down South is vacant. Any of you can have it by applying for it.'

CUPID OUT WEST. The young god of love, in his old age, seems to be getting reckless as to the direction in which he flings his fatal shafts. In Somerset, Ohio, a short time since, two girls were so captivated with the war whoop and dances of a band of Indians who were exhibiting in that town, that they eloped with two of them, and proceeded as far as the town of Putnam, when they were overtaken by their angry mother, a widow lady, who called on the police to rescue her daughters from their newly-chosen husbands. Finding all her efforts of no avail, she at length yielded to the solicitations of a third dusky warrior, and, joining her fortunes to his for better or worse, accompanied her daughters on their western tour!—*Journal*.

VARIETY.

Runaways from Texas.—The topmost topic of conversation in Texas just now is, how to keep the negroes from running away to Mexico. There is a heavy sprinkling of Mexicans all over the country west of the Brazos. You see their yellow faces, and particularly uncouth hats, every where. A square wagon, drawn by one yoke of oxen; a hide to sleep upon; a pot or two; a black-haired, black-eyed, heavy-visaged Senera or Senorita or two; a coil of cabris, or hair rope; a plenty of red pepper; a baby or so, constitute the *menége*. They move about like Gypsies, every where, work a little at digging wells or cisterns, bathe in every rill of water, and associate by night with negroes. Recently, so many negroes have been run off by them to Mexico, that the people are becoming alarmed in the matter. Meetings have been held in Sequin, Bantsville, San Antonio and other places, and a Convention of slaveholders is called to meet at Gonzales on the first of next month.—*Austin City cor. N. Y. Times.*

U. G. R. R. This favorite route from the Southern country is doing a good business. No less than twety-eight chattels have arrived here within the last ten days. One is a beautiful girl, who was sold in Covington, Ky., to go to New Orleans. She started the next day, and reached here safe after a two weeks' journey. Her purchaser used every effort to secure her, declaring that he 'would put one foot in hell but that he would have her.' She would readily have brought $2,500 or $3,000 in the New Orleans market, in consequence of her beauty, then to be consigned to a fate at which the heart sickens. Thank God, she was delivered from a destiny more terrible than death! Ten of the number started from Chicago hitherward, but owing to a breakdown in the *locomotive* of the Underground, they were unable to proceed. In their dilemma, they applied to one of the chief officers at that end of the central route. He provided them with a passage, and made them a present of $10. The Underground Directors wish us to express their thanks for this act, with the assurance that whenever the Central's engines give out, those of the U. G. shall be at their service.—*Detroit Tribune.*

Fugitives Brought Back.—Captain Post, of the schooner Belle, called at our office on Saturday evening, and stated that on Sunday, Oct. 8, while on his way from New York for Nansemond river, he met, off Chinquoteague, the schooner Tunis Bowdoin, Inman, from Newport, bound to New York, having on board two fugitive slaves, who had been secreted in the forecastle, and discovered that morning. At the request of Capt. Inman, they were received on board his vessel, and landed, on his arrival in Nansemond river, at Holladay's Point.—*Norfolk Herald.*

A Female Abolitionist.—A woman was arrested in Atlanta, on Friday last, for attempting to steal a negro man belonging to Mr. Brooks, of Lagrange, Ga. According to the negro's statement, she was to take him to a free State, and he, in return, was to work for her long enough to pay expenses.—*Spartansburg (S. C.) Express.*

☞ Five slaves, the property of Mr. Huntley, of Bourbon county, Ky., made their escape from bondage a few days since. They were traced to the Ohio river, after which all clue to them was lost. There were two women in the party.

Escape of a Slave.—Mr. O. R. Rozier called upon us yesterday, and stated that his slave, Stephen, whom he had brought from Sonoro, and was taking to Arkansas, made his escape from the schooner *Urilda*, while lying at the wharf, whither he had taken him to send him to San Francisco. The negro had the gold watch of Mr. R., some thirteen dollars in cash, and a draft on Miles Greenwood & Co., of New Orleans, for $500. It is thought he went towards Sonora, Tuolumne county. Mr. Rozier is still in this city, at the St. Charles, where he would be glad to receive any information of the fugitive.—*San Jose (Cal.) Republican.*

Remarkable Case of Second Sight.—One very extraordinary incident connected with the loss of the Arctic, and which is not generally known, is as follows:—

'A young gentleman, lately residing in this city, fell through a hatchway in his father's store some time last summer, and was severely injured, one side of his body becoming completely paralyzed, and after a while, he entirely lost the faculty of speech. In this position he remained until the 27th ultimo, (about the time of the accident to the Arctic, on board which steamer it was known that the young man's father was a passenger,) when he suddenly started up in his bed, and exclaimed, to the surprise of all present, 'My father is drowning!' fell back upon his pillow and died. It was the first time he had spoken for months; it was the last for ever.'—*New York Correspondent of the Charleston News, Oct. 20th.*

A Nice Place to Live in.—Ellsworth, in the State of Maine, is a delightful 'locality,' to be sure. It has a newspaper called the *Herald*, which openly justifies the inhuman conduct of the mob in tarring and feathering Rev. Mr. Bapst; but its citizens have lately held a public meeting, at which resolutions were passed of the most base and infamous character. The Grand Jury have refused to indict the ruffians who tarred and feathered Mr. Bapst. The Bangor *Journal* says:—

'The Attorney General, Mr. Evans, states that the evidence against the persons charged with the crime, clearly identifying them, was stronger than he ever presented to a similar body. There were sixteen on the jury. In each of the twelve or fifteen cases presented, the vote was seven for a bill and nine against. The nine are understood to be members of a secret organization. Our worst fears are realized. On Wednesday evening, at a meeting of the ruffians and their friends, (among whom are some of the principal men of the place,) it was agreed to back up any who might be arrested, and to demolish the jail if they were committed. The law cannot be enforced in Ellsworth.'

☞ A diamond, weighing 254 carats, and valued at £280,000, was deposited at the Bank of England lately. It was discovered by a negro slave in Brazil, who received his freedom as a reward.

Pennsylvania Election.—The official returns show that Pollock, the anti-Nebraska candidate for Governor in Pennsylvania, has a majority of 37,007. The majority against a prohibitory liquor law is 5,168.

The Right Spirit. — Several propellers, among others, Hurd & Co.'s of this city, have got new colors, with mottos appropriate to the times. Sailors and the owners of our merchant marine know the value of a party and an Administration whose acts say, 'Millions for slavery, but not a cent for rivers and harbors.' The *Omar Pacha*, on her last trip down, ran up her flag with the following inscription:—'Michigan demands River and Harbor improvements, and an end to Slavery extension.'—*Detroit Tribune.*

Horrible Death!—We learn from the Columbus (Miss.) *Democrat*, that the gin house belonging to Miss Swoop, of that place, situated in Noxubee county, was burned, with twenty-five bales of cotton, and seven negroes. The eighth one was so badly burned that he was expected to die. This terrible calamity was the result of accident. One of the hands had taken a lantern into the room where the gin-cotton was being stored away, when the lantern broke from the ring by which it was held, fell among the cotton, and instantly set it in a blaze.

To be Hung.—Nicholas Behehan, lately on trial at Riverhead, L. I., for the murder of the Wickham family, has been found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. He treated the matter with perfect recklessness, and made some jesting remarks to the judge after the passing of the sentence.

'Wonderful, if True.'—Rev. H. L. Wayland, of Brown University, has accepted the call of the First and Third Baptist Societies of Worcester, and has fixed his own salary at a figure seven hundred dollars less per annum than the society offered him!

A Murderer in Congress.—J. W. Denver, who has just been elected to Congress from California, is the man who killed Hon. Edward Gilbert in a most outrageous duel. His colleague has also murdered a man in the same way. The Boston *Post* considers their election a 'pleasing contrast' to the success of the many high-minded men who have just been chosen from Pennsylvania and Ohio! It prefers a Democratic murderer to an anti-Nebraska philanthropist.

Geographical and Political Conundrum.—The Philadelphia *Bulletin* propounds the following:

'Why is President Pierce like the Globe which we inhabit?

'Because, although he was thought at first to be *perfect in his sphere*, it is now known that he is "*considerably flattened at the Polls*."'

☞ The latest case of attachment to principle is mentioned by the Randolph (Vt.) *Herald*, which says that two 'Americans' hesitated about taking the cars for Montpelier, because the engine was named the 'Flying *Dutchman*.'

☞ The St. Louis *Republican* speaks of a negro in that city, who was born and brought up in Ireland, and possesses just about the richest brogue to be found among all the emigrants from the Emerald Isle.

The Cost of the Reclamation of Anthony Burns.—The proceedings under the Fugitive Slave Law at Boston, in the case of Anthony Burns, not long since reclaimed by his master, Captain Suttle, of Alexandria, Virginia, cost the United States within a fraction of $27,000 for *extra police and military force* alone. This does not cover the usual ordinary expenses incurred in the case, such as the fees of the regular officers of the United States employed in the case. $15,000 of the above $27,000 were duly paid this morning.—*Washington Star, 25th ult.*

☞ A. J. DAVIS writes to the Hartford *Times* a letter, in which he states his intention, in accordance with interior impressions, to leave Hartford, and travel from city to city, for the purpose of disseminating the Harmonial Philosophy. His valedictory breathes a hopeful, elevated, and kindly spirit.

More Progress.—Wesley Chapel, one of the Methodist churches of this city, has adopted a rule by which all the male and female members of a family may sit together in the same pew. We were surprised to learn that one of the class-leaders, who had just been married, refused to vote for this innovation upon one of the cherished rules of Methodism. What a queer fellow he must be!—*Columbus (O.) Journal.*

☞ There is an individual at present in Greenock, named Patrick Murphy, the Irish giant, a lad of 18 years of age, and of the extraordinary height of 7 feet 5½ inches on his stocking soles. He weighs twenty-one stone, and measures fifty-two inches round the chest. Murphy is a native of County Down, Ireland. Where is Barnum?

☞ The scientific men of France are at present speculating on a recent instance of a young man being brought to life after being frozen eleven months on the Alps. The blood of a living man was infused into the veins of the frozen youth, and he moved and spoke. The experiment was afterwards tried on a hare frozen for the purpose, with complete success.

Theodore Parker.—This gentleman has created a marked sensation in Cincinnati. His lecture on slavery attracted especial attention. It is described as being very able; full of convincing statistics, and explanatory of the political power of the South and its basis. The contrast between the free and slave States is said to have been most powerful. A large number of Kentuckians were present; they were very attentive.—*Cleveland Leader.*

☞ The *Watchman and Observer*, an Old School paper, published at Richmond, Va., states that at the late Commencement of Hampden Sydney College, the degree of D.D. was conferred on Samuel Irenæus Prime, one of the editors of the *New York Observer*, it being publicly stated at the time, that '*his defence of Southern rights entitled him to some recognition on the part of the South.*'

☞ The New York *Evening Post* pertinently remarks that 'the South is a spoiled child, which, if refused what it asks for, always threatens to throw itself down stairs. The North is a foolish nurse, which believes it will fulfil its threat, becomes frightened, and fussily goes and gets for it whatever it may fancy it wants.'

☞ Ellis Buffington and William England, Cherokee Indians, recently met each other on Grand River, in the Cherokee Nation, and in a fight with pistols and bowie knives, both were killed.—*Missouri Republican.*

Wonderful Apples.—The editor of the Manchester *Mirror* has received a present of an apple which possesses the peculiarity of being sweet upon one side and sour upon the other. The apples came from the farm recently belonging to Mr. Ebenezer Page, of Dunbarton, N. H. The editor of the *Mirror* says there are two trees upon the estate which bear fruit of this character—half sweet and half sour.

A Gathering of Bees.—No less than thirty swarms of bees gathered upon a single cherry tree in Howard Bottom, Maine, recently. The drought, and consequent lack of their usual food, it is supposed, drove the bees from their hives.

The Ladies and Gov. Seymour.—The ladies of Rochester, N. Y., including the wives of fourteen clergymen, twenty physicians, and 150 citizens, have addressed a scorching letter to Gov. Seymour on the subject of his veto of the Maine Law. The Governor is handled—as he deserves to be.

☞ A live toad, in a torpid state, was recently dug out of 'hard pan' at Rutland, Vt., some fifteen feet below the surface, where he must have reposed for centuries. On being laid on the grass, he soon revived, and hoped off to give the worms and bugs of the 19th century a specimen of antediluvian skill in snapping them up.

☞ When Lamartine's merits were being discussed at a club of artists and authors, 'Oh,' said a clever young author, 'he and I row in the same boat.' Douglas Jerrold, who was present, turned round and said, 'But not with the same sculls.'

☞ The Crimea expedition is the largest naval expedition in the annals of warfare, and consists of 700 ships, carrying at once 70,000 men, with horses, guns, pontoons, gabions, tents, provisions, and all the materials of war. The fleet musters 25,000 sailors and 3,000 cannon, while the land force comprises 20,000 Englishmen, 35,000 Turks, 10,000 Egyptians, 5,000 Tunisians, and 5,000 of other nationalities.

Elegant Diction.—The Washington *Union*, the Government organ, calls the opponents of the Nebraska perfidy 'traitors, knaves, and hypocrites.' The *nationality* of the Administration is well represented by its mouth-piece.

☞ A daughter of the Hon. Caleb B. Smith, late United States Senator from Indiana, at a recent County Fair at Connersville, in that State, received the highest prize—a side-saddle worth $100—as being the best lady rider of all who presented themselves as competitors.

☞ Amherst jail is now occupied by twenty-seven boarders. Two of them are clergymen;—whether signers of the '3050 remonstrance' we have not learned.—*Nashua (N. H.) Gazette.*

We can relieve the editor of the *Gazette*. We learn they are a couple of 'unfortunate men,' who certified to Gen. Pierce's temperance and religious character previous to the last Presidential election.—*Independent Democrat.*

CLEVER EPIGRAM, FROM THE BOSTON POST.

When Sarah Jane, the Moral Miss,
Declares "'tis very wrong to kiss,'
I really think that I see through it;
The lady, fairly understood,
Feels just as any Christian should,—
She'd 'rather *suffer* wrong than *do* it.'

☞ During the height of the yellow fever at Savannah, a standing order was sent by the Mayor to Macon, for five hundred loaves of bread per day, as a *business transaction*; but Macon supplied the bread, repudiated the *business transaction*, and utterly refused all payment.

Extraordinary Acrobatic Feat.—A very curious feat is nightly performing at the cirque, in the Champ Elysees, by an acrobat of the name of Price. He brings a ladder into the arena, and keeping it in equilibrium by the mere weight of his body, climbs to the top. Arrived there, he performs on the violin some variations on the 'Carnival de Venice,' and, always seated at the top of his ladder, he keeps it moving all round the circus, and finally descends from his perilous position in a mannea quite as extraordinary as the remainder of his performance. This startling feat is not inappropriately designated as 'L'Echelle animee.'—*Galignani.*

☞ We once saw a young man bravely turning up his glass; he was a true-hearted, glorious fellow, and was, he said, sowing his wild oats. We afterwards saw a policeman hauling a miserable drunkard from the gutter to the watch-house—the wild oats were being harvested.—*Ex. paper.*

Arrest of a Female in Male Attire.—A female, named Ann Linden, was yesterday arrested by officer Dowling, of the lower police court, as a vagrant, and sent by Justice Welsh to the penitentiary for sixty days. It appears that a few weeks ago she came from New Orleans, and since then has donned male attire, visiting the theatres, hotels, and other public places, and passing herself off as a gentleman of wealth and fortune, under various assumed names.—*N. Y. paper.*

Wealth of Providence.—The total valuation of the city of Providence is $48,928,700. The tax is fifty-six cents on each one hundred dollars, producing $274,579 68.

☞ FANNY FERN is writing a novel entitled 'Ruth Hall.' It will be issued in about six weeks.

☞ A colored woman recently died in Virginia aged 140 years.

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LA ROY SUNDERLAND

HAS the pleasure of inviting the attention of *Invalids*, and all *sick of 'dosing,'* to his New and Successful Method of *Healing by NUTRITION*, *without the use of drugs!* The desire for *Opium*, *Tobacco*, and *Intoxication* destroyed; and every Form of Disease, especially of the Stomach, Liver, Heart, Lungs, Bowels, 'Impurities of the Blood,' and 'Nervous complaints,' radically CURED, without a particle of medicine!

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October 20. 4w

BOSTON TRECOTHIC

Calisthenic Academy & Gymnasium,

FOR LADIES, MISSES, GENTLEMEN AND BOYS,

TRECOTHIC HALL,

Corner of Boylston and Tremont Streets.

PROFESSOR STEWART respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Boston, that he has opened his Gymnasium in the above splendid hall, which, for capaciousness and convenience, is not surpassed by any other establishment of the kind in the United States.

Every accommodation is provided for those ladies and gentlemen who may wish to avail themselves of healthy exercise and amusement.

An elegant Piano Forte is placed in the room, for the use of Lady patrons.

TERMS MADE KNOWN AT THE HALL.

Hours for Ladies, from 10 o'clock, A. M., until 4, P. M., every day.

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SELF-KNOWLEDGE is of more importance than any other, because it is the index to the vast volume of wisdom and knowledge which exists in other minds, and in the external world around us. You can obtain this knowledge of your character and capabilities through the science of Psychometry. Having located myself for the present in Boston, I am prepared to give psychometrical readings at my room at the FOUNTAIN HOUSE, Harrison Avenue, Boston, by the autograph enclosed in an envelope. Terms, $1,00. Address R. P. WILSON, Boston, Mass.

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October 6. 4t

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A DISTINGUISHED teacher of long experience in Europe and America, will open private classes in Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio, for instruction in the various branches of the Mathematics, and in the Latin, Greek and French Languages. These classes will afford rare advantages to these who wish to prosecute these branches of study.

Letters of inquiry may be addressed to the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio. The classes will be opened the first week in November next.

Salem, (Ohio,) Oct. 5, 1854.

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THOSE who would secure early and good impressions should engage them without delay. A few proof copies remain, at $1 25 each. The others are offered at $1.

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Philadelphia, August 16. 3m

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FOR sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, 'A Speech by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, delivered at Abington, Mass., on the First Day of August, 1854,' on the subject of West India Emancipation. Price, single copy, 6 cents; per dozen, 50 cents—at cost price, for cheap distribution. It makes a neatly printed tract of 48 pages. It takes a survey of the great struggle in England, for the abolition of British Colonial slavery, from its commencement to its termination—exhibits the behavior of the West India planters—shows how the missionaries were expelled from Jamaica, and their chapels destroyed, and what have been the results of the Act of Emancipation—&c. &c.

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Ladies can be waited on at their own residences, or at her room, which will be open from 8, A. M., to 7, P. M. She has numerous recommendation from the fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and elsewhere, which can be seen by those who desire.

Boston, May 13.

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